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Proceedings of the fifth international women in leadership conference: ethics or leadership? The 90's dilemma

Adrianne Kinnear (Ed.)

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PROCEEDINGS
of
THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL
WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE

Ethics or Leadership? The 90's Dilemma

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The Fifth International Women In Leadership Conference

25th – 27th November 1996, Fremantle, Western Australia

The International Women in Leadership conference attracts internationally renowned speakers as well as a wide audience from across the nation. The Conference is at the forefront of organisational and leadership research and provides a means of personal interaction with preeminent female researchers and leaders in Australia and overseas. Such interaction deepens the understanding of the leadership capacities of women and of leadership in organisations, knowledge which is central to the intellectual work of the Women in Leadership Project. Held at the Esplanade Hotel, Fremantle, from the 25th-27th November 1996, the Fifth International Women in Leadership conference focused on the theme: 'Ethics or Leadership? The 90's Dilemma'.

Since its inception in 1991, the Women in Leadership Project at Edith Cowan University has developed a strong national reputation for its expertise in identifying and responding to the challenges which face women who work in the higher education sector. The project is particularly known for creating forums which publicly showcase the leadership capacities of women across a wide range of professions and sectors. To date, the Women in Leadership model has been used as a benchmark for similar programs established in 20 universities in Australia and New Zealand.

The principal objective of the Project is to strategically engage women with leadership processes, knowledge and activities. Apart from the annual conference, the project organises collegial programmes, mentoring programmes, Springboard workshops, seminars for the Greenleaf Centre (Aus & NZ), a public lecture series, carries out consultancy work for corporations, publishes the *International Review of Women in Leadership*, and carries out research in the field.

Women in Leadership programs are guided by the Women In Leadership Model, *Dimensions of Leadership*, which acknowledges four critical capacities for leadership: having a public voice, being a creator of environments, acknowledging ones own work identity and management competencies, and utilising strategic skills and knowledge.

KEYNOTE
PRESENTATIONS

WOMEN IN RECONCILIATION: HALFWAY THROUGH THE DECADE

Mary Bin-Sallik
University of South Australia

I am prompted to write this paper given:

- a) the changes in government which have occurred;
- b) the new opportunities which are emerging for joint enterprises between private enterprise and Aboriginal communities;
- c) the changes in relationships between the Aboriginal community and the broader Australian communities brought about by the Native Title legislation and;
- d) of course, the impact of the Pauline Hanson anti-Aboriginal and anti-Asian debate on Australian society (political and economic), and the lack of leadership from politicians who have the responsibility for running this country.

Late in 1997 the Prime Minister of this country attacked what he called the black-arm-band historians, those people who believe that to become a healthy nation we need to acknowledge all parts of our history. But Australia's leader, Australia's number one man, seems to be saying to the world that it is not important to acknowledge that the development of modern Australia was underwritten by Aborigines and that is okay to hide the fact that Asians contributed to the economic development of this country in early days. He ignores those who worked as indentured labour pearl divers, like my father, and, going back further, to the Chinese in the gold fields whose success through hard 'yakka' brought about the yellow peril propaganda leading to the White Australia Policy. Pauline Hanson's anti-Aboriginal and anti-Asian comments have added fuel to Australia's racism. To say that it has divided the nation is to say the least; the damage has been so profound.

As an Aboriginal women with an Asian Australian immigrant father – who I might add fought with the Australian Army's famous Z Special Force in World War II – you cannot begin to imagine the impact that this assault on my bicultural heritage has had on me. There have been times when I have felt that I was being torpedoed from both sides – my first generation Asian side and my continuous, from time immemorial Aboriginal side – both of which I am very proud of.

Given all this, I want to argue that the Reconciliation process is fundamental to the development of a stable social, political and economic future for all Australians. There are a number of considerations which lead me to this position. I do not wish to argue that Australia is a particularly racist society, or that it is worse than other societies around the world. This is not the point - we aren't in a competition to prove who is or isn't the most or least racist. But we

cannot deny the existence of shameful episodes in Australia's past or deny that many indigenous Australians along with other groups, especially women, suffer extreme poverty, ill-health and the social and psychological consequences resulting from the feminisation and racialisation of poverty in this country.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are clearly the most disadvantaged identifiable group in Australia today – on any criteria. In December 1997 the Federal Minister for Aboriginal Affairs suggested that the armed forces be used to set up structures for the provision of running water to Aboriginal communities that do not enjoy what most of us take for granted. We must not forget that women and girls make up more than half the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population, and they are indeed more than half the population of those communities that do not have running water, sewerage, refrigeration and so forth.

The reasons for this disadvantage are complex and vary from group to group. Attitudes of non-indigenous Australians, at many levels and in many places, have been and continue to be an important element in this complex set of reasons. I certainly am not attempting to assign blame or to generate feelings of guilt. I am attempting to identify a problem within Australian society which we all have a responsibility to understand and redress.

I believe that all of us in this room would prefer to be living in a society in which there were no groups living in abject poverty; a society where there was no need for a four hundred million dollar budget to attempt to alleviate the desperate position of indigenous people. But are we prepared to do anything about turning this preference into reality? Are we prepared to actually do anything about it? Are these kinds of belief nothing more than political rhetoric? I hope not!

Reconciliation is important for all Australians. The disadvantage and alienation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people is costing this country dearly. These costs occur in a number of ways and at a number of levels.

We have:

- a fragmented society with its lack of national pride and certainty;
- big brother legislation to protect segments of society from excesses of abuse and oppression;
- hostility between private enterprise and Aboriginal communities over proposed developments, leading to costly delays and expensive court cases;
- a tainted international reputation;
- heavy costs of social welfare and administrative bureaucracies;
- and, of course, the excessively high costs to indigenous people.

If the reconciliation process is even partially successful, these costs could be dramatically reduced - Australia would be a happier, healthier more productive (and even more profitable) society. Reconciliation is in everybody's interest.

The Reconciliation program has a range of goals, incorporated in the eight key issues listed in the publications distributed by the Reconciliation Council. These include:

1. Understanding Country - Promoting an understanding of the importance of land and sea in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander societies.
2. Improving Relationships - Reversing the history of violence, dispossession and racism which Aboriginal people have suffered since the European invasion of this country.
3. Valuing Cultures - Developing an understanding and valuing of the diversity of contemporary Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures and the contribution of these cultures to Australia today. The emphasis is on indigenous authors, playwrights, photographers, film makers, actors, dance companies, artists, sports people and entertainers.
4. Sharing History - Developing an Australian view of our history which begins a very long time before Captain Cook and which incorporates a wide range of experiences and perceptions of the past of this country.
5. Addressing Disadvantage - Recognising and understanding the nature of the disadvantage Aboriginal people suffer in many areas of daily life - housing, education, health, employment and so on - and developing strategies to overcome these disadvantages.
6. Custody Levels - One of the major issues remains the level at which Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are arrested and imprisoned in Australia, and are dying in custody. These appallingly high levels are continuing despite the attention focused on this issue through the Royal Commission and its subsequent reports and recommendations.
7. Destiny - Greater opportunities for Aboriginal and Torres Strait people to control their destinies and to have a greater degree of control over their communities, their lives and their futures.
8. Formal Document - Reaching agreement on whether the process of reconciliation would be advanced by a document or documents of reconciliation.

At the halfway mark in this process of Reconciliation, it is timely to ask how are things going. To what extent have the activities of the Council, and the processes of reconciliation being promoted by the Council, made real progress towards achieving any or all of these goals?

There has not been much evidence, either in the daily lives of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, or in the broader social, political or administrative climates, to suggest that the process has made very much progress. Indeed, it could be argued that we have gone backwards - it is hard to find any areas where real improvements can be clearly demonstrated.

So what is reconciliation about? It is about two broad areas of social change. It is partly to do with changing values and attitudes of Australians in all walks of life. But it is not only about changing values and attitudes. It is also about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people gaining a more equitable place within Australian society, while at the same time retaining control of our own destinies, and retaining the critical sense of cultural identity and separateness. One of the central questions of reconciliation is whether these last two goals are compatible. Can they both be achieved, without one eroding the other?

It is this issue which I would like to explore here and, in the process, suggest one proposal which might start moving towards the achievement of both goals. This process would allow private enterprise, the public sector, and specific individuals or groups within these two areas, to take an active and pro-active role in furthering the goals of reconciliation. I would like to begin with a brief diversion overseas - to the United States of America, and to one strategy which a large number of Native American (Indian) groups are currently using to develop a greater degree of economic wealth and autonomy. These groups have aggressively entered the United States gaming industry. More specifically, casinos.

While still controversial, and not without some problems, gaming is now a major source of independent income for many Native American groups, supporting a range of cultural and economic developments which would otherwise not be funded. Obviously, I am not suggesting that Aboriginal communities should all rush out and establish casinos. The situations are very different and these strategies simply wouldn't work in Australia.

However, I do want to suggest that this is one example of indigenous groups co-operating with private enterprise to access the western economic system in an aggressive, constructive and productive way. Indeed, they participate in a component of that economic system which is very thoroughly imbedded in the private sector - it is difficult to think of any more typically western private enterprise than large scale gambling.

These casinos function as joint operations. They are partnerships between the Indian Tribes, casino operators from places like Las Vegas and, depending on the circumstances of individual tribes, investors from the wider community. Board meetings include very traditional Indians leaders, casino operators, and establishment bankers coming together amicably (most of the time) to pursue common interests. And all of them have their interests fulfilled. Is this an example of reconciliation actually happening? I would say so. How many examples of similar processes can we find in Australia? Very few, I would suggest.

There are, of course, some outstanding examples of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander private enterprises. But the reality is that Aboriginal communities are not actively engaging in the private sector of the Australian economy - and certainly not at a level where that engagement is returning significant income to the community. Nor are there many examples of private enterprise engaging with Aboriginal communities in developing joint ventures, other than the few examples imposed by the implementation of various forms of legislation.

The bulk of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander engagement in the Australian economy is at three levels. There is some employment within the public service. Some are employed, usually at fairly low-income levels, in the private sector and others are dependent on income from a range of social welfare programs. There is little evidence that this employment pattern has changed in the first five years of Reconciliation. Do you see any real likelihood of it changing in the next five years? Where can we see real examples of this happening? This is not to dismiss the current levels of activity. All three of these levels of engagement are relevant, are important and need to be supported.

On our own, these patterns of participation in the Australian economy are not going to turn around the general condition of economic disadvantage and dependency within Aboriginal communities. I would like to suggest that it is important that a fourth level of engagement be added to this list. That is the engagement of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people as active participants in the development of the Australian private sector economy and as active participants in the development of policy and practice in the decision-making levels of the public and private sectors.

We need to identify strategies which will bring Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in to the central driving force of the Australian economy, private enterprise. Not as advisors, not as invited observers, but as full participants in the decision-making bodies of private enterprise - the Boards of Directors of major private companies and the controlling boards of major public institutions.

At the moment most of the formal interaction between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities and the wider Australian society occurs through the public sector in its various forms. Without wishing to denigrate the public sector, most public service departments are indeed, service departments. They haven't been terribly effective in assisting Aboriginal communities to see opportunities for developing economic initiatives, act on them, and make them work. While there are examples of successful initiatives sponsored through various public sector programs, there are examples of government funded initiatives to develop economic enterprises on Aboriginal communities which simply haven't worked despite good intentions and sometimes the injection of large amounts of money. There is certainly no clear pattern of increased economic independence emerging from this interaction which has been happening over many years now. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities cannot do this on their own, and have not been able to do it under the direction of the various bodies which currently advise them - whether public servants, anthropologists, sociologists or private consultants.

Aboriginal communities have to become much more aware of how to go about the process of engaging in the private sector economy as active participants rather than as passive recipients. For this they need the assistance of the private sector. There are two additional elements to this argument. It is also important that the private sector become much better informed about the values, needs and aspirations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities.

We are all aware of the highly-publicised confrontations between the private sector and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities over mining ventures, land development, bridge building, and so on. These have been expensive, destructive and ultimately not in the interests of either group. Some of these confrontations may be inevitable, but I wonder how many of them could have been avoided by much better communication, much earlier in the process?

There are, of course, also examples of co-operation between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities and private enterprise, often much less well-publicised. Many of these cooperative ventures have been built on early, careful and continuing negotiation. And this, of course, is to be applauded.

But these are typically 'one-off' negotiations for specific projects and relate to very specific components of the economy. They are not part of a continuing process of communication between the private sector and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities - a process which I believe should be formalised and should be a normal feature of the Australia economic landscape.

There are, of course, barriers to such communication. There is still little awareness, in both groups, of the values, aims, aspirations and *modus operandi* of the other group. Indeed in many instances there is still a reservoir of hostility between the groups, based on a less than happy history. The groups too often only come into contact as protagonists in relation to specific issues or proposals. There are too often barriers between the two groups communicating directly with each other. These barriers may include state governments, lawyers or bureaucrats, or simply gross misunderstandings of each other's positions and these barriers are most likely to be in place at times of major confrontation.

It is important to develop a strategy for improving this situation; for finding a context within which both groups can begin to understand each other better, without the immediate pressure of disputes or problems, and without the intervention of well meaning others acting as cultural brokers. We need to develop a context within which the significant authority groupings within the private sector can become much better informed about the values, goals and aspirations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities. We need to include immediate Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander input into decision making, while at the same time providing indigenous communities with an opportunity to gain first hand understanding of the nature of the private sector, and how it can be used by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities for their own benefit.

I would like to suggest that this interaction will occur most effectively at the highest level of private enterprise - on the Boards of Directors of major companies in Australia, and on the Boards of Directors of a wide range of smaller companies. I am proposing that:

- Australian private companies, and major public institutions, establish formal positions for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people with appropriate skills and qualifications, on the Boards of Directors of private companies, and on the various Public Sector Boards, and actively seek to fill those positions, and that;
- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people with appropriate skills and qualifications offer themselves for appointment to the Boards of Directors of Australian Companies, as full members of these boards.

I believe there is a potential for major benefits to both groups if they choose to make use of this process. Boards will gain immediate and authoritative advice on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander perspectives on a range of issues. Potential and current leaders of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities will gain a greater awareness and understanding of how the

private sector operates. Potential areas of conflict between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities and private enterprise can be identified early. This doesn't mean that these conflicts will be resolved, but at least they can be identified early in planning processes. Frameworks will be established for the identification of possible joint ventures between the private sector and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities that are of benefit to both groups. Remember the casinos - everybody won, including the Native American communities, the private investors, the casino operators and the wider community. The only group to miss out, perhaps, are the competing casino operators. But isn't that what private enterprise is about? Seeing a commercial opportunity and exploiting it?

I am not pretending that there will not be some problems and dilemmas involved in this process - there will be. And some of these problems and dilemmas will be difficult. But they can be solved if both groups are committed to resolving them. And this is what reconciliation is all about - establishing contexts within which the real problems of reconciliation are expressed in real situations, and solved in real situations.

This proposal will enhance rather than reduce Aboriginal autonomy. I do not believe that there is any real threat to Aboriginal cultural identity generated by increased involvement in the private sector. Indeed, I believe that this level of autonomy can be significantly enhanced by such participation.

I began this paper by suggesting that one of the intentions of reconciliation was to develop strategies for Aboriginal groups to gain a more equitable place within Australian society, while at the same time retaining a sense of cultural separateness and autonomy. I believe that the strategy which is being proposed is one which may assist significantly in achieving this goal and could be implemented immediately. It requires only the good will and determination of individual people, particularly people within private enterprise and individual Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders and it doesn't require any investment of money from the government or anyone else. It doesn't require any legislation or the appointment of government advisers.

Private enterprise and Aboriginal communities must move out of an adversarial relationship and into a co-operative one if the future of Australia is not going to continue to reflect its past. Aboriginal communities cannot afford for this past to continue. Neither can private enterprise. Neither can Australian society as a whole. These problems must be solved. I suggest that this is one strategy which can contribute to the solution.

At the same time as you are being asked to consider this proposal, appropriately qualified Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are being asked to participate in this program. So, you may be asking why am I putting this proposal to you here? Well, there are two major reasons which are fairly obvious:

- You are women interested in issues relating to women in leadership and, indeed, many of you are already in positions of leadership in the private and public sector. You are uniquely placed to carry this suggestion back to your relevant boards or decision-making groups to educate others of the importance of the Reconciliation process between indigenous and non-indigenous Australians and argue the case for the implementation of the proposal and, to carry it through.

- As women you know what it is like to be marginalised by the patriarchy. You know only too well the barriers and implications of overt, covert and institutional sexism. Therefore, you are in a better position to understand the added burden of overt, covert and institutional racism experienced by your indigenous sisters and their male counterparts.

Australia needs us women to turn this country around so that all Australians can look forward to a future of good health, education and employment from within a level playing field. To date the men have not been able to do it through their patriarchal institutions and systems without us.

We are now half way through the decade of Reconciliation so we should be seriously thinking about our contributions to the process. I ask each of you! When the time comes for us to hand over the reins to the next generation how do you want to be remembered?

Do you want to be remembered as a woman who contributed to uniting this country?

Or do you want to be remembered as a woman who helped to keep our country divided through xenophobic views of Aborigines and Asians?

I know where I stand on this? Do you?

IT'S ALL IN THE UNFOLDING

Veronica Brady
University of Western Australia

One of my favourite poems is Rosemary Dobson's 'Folding The Sheets' (Dobson, 1984, p. 23). Amongst other things it is about the way women know that existence is relational, that we need to play back to one another, cooperate rather than compete (to put it simply and a little crudely). We know — at least I have always thought we do — that living properly has to do with weaving and unweaving, a rhythmic to and fro, a dance, if you like, in which we are played upon as well as players. I am as much authored by others as authoring. As Hélène Cixous puts it; 'We are much more than our own name authorizes us and obliges us to believe we are' (Cixous, 1991, p. 179). This may be an odd beginning to an essay about Women and Leadership. But it is what I believe and it is what is implied in my title.

I don't see my life and my career so much as something I have consciously made and shaped as a kind of listening, following possibilities as they unfolded, sometimes coming from outside and sometimes from prompting from within. In a sense, I suppose, I have always been on the side of the poet rather than the historian, (if you take Aristotle's distinction that the historian is concerned with what has happened and the poet with what may happen). Looking back over her life the historian would try to be objective and disinterested and try to make sense of it in that way. But the poet is involved in it still, she is part of what has happened, is happening and may yet happen. What is still unfolding.

That means that, despite Kierkegaard's saying which I like to quote, that we 'live our lives forwards and understand them backwards', I find it difficult to make sense of my story if by making sense you mean giving an explanation of motives, causes and effects of what I have done and where I have been. The various parts of it are available but only, as it were, in bits and pieces. Certain facts, decisions, actions and consequences are clear. But, I reflect, there are other facts, decisions, actions and consequences of which I am not fully aware which are not clear, perhaps not even consciously available. More importantly, where do they come from, what is their inner impulse? The unconscious? Unacknowledged social pressure? Or, is it as I like to think, some impulse of conscience, of some divine Other?

As I see the world, there are more things in heaven and earth than can be accounted for by any kind of purely 'rational' philosophy. I may be deluded, I know, and have thought a great deal about Freud's notion of religion as the Great Illusion, but I believe in 'realities at present unseen', have a 'religious' sense of the world. In our culture we tend to isolate ourselves from the people, things and events which surround us, as if we were spectators of the world around us. But, to return to 'Folding The Sheets', as I see it, we are part of the interplay, the polyphonies of existence, the weaving and unweaving of a larger life which flows through us. Dante sums it up for me with the description in the first canto of *Paradiso* of existence as a vast ocean, each person, animal or thing moving 'to different ports across the mighty sea of being, each given the impulse that will bear it on', an impulse which unfolds from within, playing back to the larger rhythms of existence (Dante, 1986, Canto I, Lines 112-115).

This may have been a fairly general view in Dante's time but I am quite aware that it is not today, that in fact it may make me a little odd. But it is the way I see things. Besides my academic training has taught me that it is important to keep an open mind. This openness is also, I suppose, an important aspect of post-modernism. There is no one way to read any text or any life. To refer to Cixous again, in them we find inscribed the voice(s) of the other(s).

One of the first lessons of living is the one that consists of knowing how not to know, which does not mean not knowing, but knowing how not to know, knowing how to avoid getting closed in by knowledge, knowing more or less what one knows knowing how to understand, while never being on the side of ignorance...[We] have to strike out for the unknown (Cixous, 1991, p. 16)

From childhood, when I would go off by myself into the garden, climbing to the top of an old Norfolk pine and looking out across the roofs to Port Phillip Bay in the distance or up at the clouds or lying outside at night and looking up at the stars, I have always had a sense of this unknown, of some reality beyond my own projections and constructions which nevertheless leaves its trace on them, a reality that can be subversive and can interrupt my plans in a way that is both painful and pleasurable. It is a religious sense, I suppose, a hope of 'something more', a longing, a vision, the call to a journey. This is how Cixous, to quote her again, describes it:

I see it shining, the splendour of my existence...I see above my head the meaning of my whole story. A single night separates me from it. I try to cross it. I hold out my hands...I have it at the tips of my fingers...At the heart of it lies a soft gleaming pearl like the flash of eternity at the heart of the moment. My star that still has no name! My secret is no bigger than a hazelnut of eternity (Cixous, cited in Ward, 1996, p. 231).

That, of course, is to put it very poetically and in a way that a mystic or a French theoretician might put it today. But it fits my experience, even though I grew up in middle-class Australia. There is another question which arises at this stage, however. What does all this have to do with leadership and with being a leader? – which is what I am supposed to be writing about.

Frankly, I have to confess that I don't know. In my case, leadership, like beauty, is in the eye of the beholder. Although I like people, I have always been something of a solitary, more interested in what is going on inside rather than outside. I have never set out to 'lead' anyone. I have been a teacher for most of my life, of course. But I see teaching as a matter of sharing, empowering if you like, rather than direction and my favourite image of the teacher is of gardener; the seed is already there, what the teacher has to do is to water it, manure it, weed it and then watch it grow. So if other people have been influenced by me – and I suppose that is the only kind of leadership I have had – that is their business, though, to be honest, I have been happy when that happened because I like to think that the ideas and values which concern me are important for others also. Still, the idea of being a leader is not one I am comfortable with. So I would like to spend the rest of this essay working out what that might mean, my case and perhaps how it came about.

Again, I suppose we have to go back to beliefs, to the image of folding the sheets. If life is a matter of relationship, playing back to others/the Other of being authored as well as authoring one's story, then the facts are that has made me a little unusual, people have paid a certain amount of attention, critical and sometimes exasperated, to me. Even more importantly perhaps, I was born to parents who obviously got on well together and obviously loved me and my sister and made me feel myself the centre of their world, if not the world – that was a lot more problematic if you were a child during the Depression of the 1930's and during World War II.

They were also intelligent educated Catholics, not in the slightest fanatical. At primary school, for instance, I was often made to feel that we were not 'real Catholics': we did not say the Family Rosary and from time to time when we were travelling we missed Sunday Mass. But I grew up within a tradition of belief. Looking at the lemon tree in the backyard when I was very small, for example, having heard the story of God creating Adam from the 'dust of the earth' I wondered whether it would turn into a human being if I threw dust over it (the implicit assumption that I might be able to do what God could do is an interesting one!). I had a place in a world of myth as well as in the world of matter of fact, however, I was also fortunate enough to be intelligent and imaginative and to live in a house full of books where ideas were discussed. My father, who married late, had also traveled before he settled down so I also had a sense of the larger world beyond Australia.

Someone who feels confident in herself and in her place in the world like this is, I suppose, fortunate, possibly unusual, and may affect others for this reason. Then I was lucky enough to be at Melbourne University just after World War II when most of the students were men – I wasn't aware of any 'returned' women – who had survived the war, mature-age students who knew where they were going and who were, many of them, concerned to make a better world. The teachers I had at that time, too, in particular Max Crawford, Ian Maxwell, MacMahon Ball and Norman Harper, taught me to think, to question and to take a larger view. But I also had the odd conviction which, far from diminishing as I went further from my Catholic school days increased, that what I really had to do was not be the writer I wanted to be but to be a nun – something which seemed very unattractive to someone enjoying what at that stage I like to think was a 'Bohemian' life. You would think that that would put an end to any kind of public impact you might have had – in the 1950's nuns were more or less cloistered and not involved in public affairs. In my case, however, things worked out differently.

I decided to 'give it a go' and entered the convent. My friends expected me back within a few weeks or at most months, but it seems that that was the life that was meant for me. We were in the 1960's and Vatican II changed everything. I was sent to do graduate work in North America. Apart from returning with my doctorate I also came back to Australia having lived more or less as an ordinary graduate student amongst other graduate students. I also returned with memories of the Civil Rights Movement – I spent a semester at the University of Chicago in the middle of the struggle in the South – of opposition to the Vietnam War and priests and nuns who joined in protest marches and sit-ins and were developing a 'theology of liberation'. I also began to see what Australia looks like from the outside.

Shortly after the Watts riots in Los Angeles, for example, I expressed my dislike of racism, to be rounded on by the young American I was talking to who asked me how I, an Australian, could dare to criticise USA when we treated our Aboriginal people so badly! I was also astonished when I returned to Melbourne in 1969 to find so many people, Catholics especially, prepared to defend the war in Vietnam, arguing that communism had to be defeated or it would take over the World! Every night on TV in Toronto I had seen pictures of villages razed to the ground, women, children and old people killed, fields and forests devastated and nothing seemed to me to justify that. Indeed, if poverty is one of the causes of Communism it seemed to me that, far from defeating it, the war was actually strengthening the Communist cause, and that if anything was taking over the world it was American-style violence.

A year or so after my return, I applied for a temporary job in the English Department at the University of Western Australia, where I have been ever since – the temporary has often changed to the permanent with me. I suppose much of the influence I have had in that position comes from the fact that a nun is something of an oddity in an Australian University. In North America it was different: nearly half of the staff of St Michael's College to which I was attached at the University of Toronto were nuns or priests, for example. But since my undergraduate days I have always believed and believed quite passionately, that it is part of our task as students and academics to be concerned with issues confronting society as a whole; that is one of the justifications of the privilege of being trained to think and having time and opportunity to read and research and see things in their larger context. In Chicago and later in Toronto I was part of an academic community involved with opposition to the Vietnam War and the Civil Rights movement, and I saw and see, no reason why things should be any different in Australia.

Besides one winter afternoon in the University of Chicago library I had come across the writings of the German theologian, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, a pacifist and opponent of Nazism who had nevertheless eventually joined in one of the plots to kill Hitler and had died in a concentration camp. Bonhoeffer's conviction that Christianity did not belong just on the fringes of society and did not exist just to give comfort and consolation has been an inspiration to me ever since. As he saw it Jesus was the 'Man for Others', prepared to contest injustice and stand with the poor and oppressed, challenging whoever and whatever would destroy the dignity and hopes of other humans and the living world around us.

Many people, many Catholics especially, have found it scandalous that a nun should involve herself in public debate. In the early days particularly letters, always anonymous, used to flow in regularly urging me to 'get back to your convent and say your prayers'. For my part, however, I cannot see how being a nun makes you any the less a human being and a citizen, and as prayer teaches me more about the god whose name is love and lived amongst us as a human being with a passion for Jesus it also impels me to take a stand against injustice and do what I can. That, in fact, is not very much because I am not and never have been very practical, am not very good at organising and have few practical skills. But writing and speaking and trying to help people think for themselves and to think with more tolerance towards and sympathy for others is something.

It has all been a matter, then of listening to some kind of voice speaking within but often, too, through others or in the physical world. One of the most powerful of these occasions, for instance, was one night at a meeting in a shire hall in the Swan Valley when I watched a group of Aboriginal people sit and endure a tirade of abuse from poor whites, afraid that property values would fall if Aboriginal people lived in their street. That was when I realised that the 'Aboriginal problem' is our problem, that many of us do not know how to relate to those different from ourselves and that our desperate insecurity makes us hate and cling to material values as our only certainty. As I see it, life is very different, open, not closed. We are all mortal, finite, vulnerable and surrounded by mysteries too deep for us to understand. As Conrad's wise man, Stein, put it; 'We are all 40,000 feet out.' But that means that we must 'allow the deep, deep ocean to bear us up and then follow the dream right to the end' (Conrad).

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MARY, MARY, QUITE CONTRARY: GROWING WOMEN LEADERS

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How do we go about growing woman leaders when we are not clear what that leadership looks like; when we have limited role models available to us; and when much of the management literature is white, male and (in the United Kingdom at least) American?

What follows is an attempt to make sense of a journey fifty women took together to discover just that. These women were all Chief Executives in the National Health Service within the United Kingdom; all committed to personal and organisational development; and all employees of the largest organisation in Europe (with one and a quarter million employees). These are reflections on women articulating, sharing and progressing diverse and different ways of leading to those dominant in their organisations. For such leaders, the development of a market in health care and with it, a business culture, meant the need for more and not less collaboration in an increasingly competitive environment. It meant turning their hospitals and purchasing organisations around quickly while building capacity for long term organic growth. And it meant building a network of support among themselves in a fragmented and sometimes hostile environment. Told by the creator and facilitator of this initiative, this is a story full of lessons for those women treading the same path. Drawing on relevant literature and frameworks, the storyteller tries to explain the nature of the journey undertaken through the development and implementation of Leadership 2000. In doing so, a new framework and a new contribution to understanding women's leadership are uncovered.

Public service organisations, it is suggested, are going through major change processes, as they begin to redefine their bureaucratic functions and in some cases shift to become businesses and even networks. Potential leaders too, it is proposed, are on a journey. While this is a personal and developmental journey, it does display some consistent patterns and experiences. Leadership, it is argued, can shift organisations when that organisational journey and that personal journey come together. We call this synchronicity 'having the right person in the right place at the right time'.

For men, because they have participated in the design of this hegemonic process, the experience of personal and organisational development coming together can be one of symmetry. In contrast, women's experience can be one of dissonance. That dissonance raises a number of challenges. Women who succeed as leaders of organisations are women who not only successfully survive these challenges, but are 'politically seasoned' as a result of them and indeed bring the learning from those challenges into their ongoing behaviour (Mainiero, undated). These women often become outstanding leaders perhaps because they are able to use both male and female frameworks and are therefore able to utilise the full potential of their workforce. However, the process of seasoning is hazardous and means some women lose their way. It also carries with it the potential for male backlash. The paper ends with a plea for a form of leadership by both men and women which facilitates the involvement of all staff in designing and delivering on their own organisational future, an intent which provides the ideological context for the paper as a whole.

It has been argued elsewhere that there are essentially four kinds of organisations. They are professional, bureaucratic, businesses and networks (James, 1994). The professional organisation is primarily concerned with achieving agreed standards of practice in their services. It asks who is qualified and competent to work? The bureaucratic organisation is primarily concerned with order. It asks, who will fit in and whether it is fair to include them? The business organisation is primarily concerned with markets and profitability. It asks, who achieves the most? Finally, the network organisation is primarily concerned with connectedness and asks about the quality of relationships and the nature of the climate.

The creation of a market in health care has, as in other public services, threatened organisations which operate primarily on professional and/or bureaucratic lines and has encouraged the creation of business-type organisations or business-type units within those organisations. The emergence of a mixed economy, early signs of managed care and increasing demand for interagency working, to resolve intransigent health and social care problems such as mental health and long term elderly care, have promoted the development of network style organisations working on and at the boundaries of traditional professional and bureaucratic organisations.

The experience of Network 2000 was that it was typically women who were leading these new-style organisations. Reasons for this include the high status afforded to leading traditional professional and bureaucratic organisations (such as the teaching hospitals), statuses usually claimed by men; also the large numbers of women traditionally operating in the fields of primary and community care and therefore available for promotion. In a remarkable turnaround, the NHS reforms with their emphasis on a primary care led service, briefly provided opportunity for women to operate at the forefront of the reforms and to do so in ways which could value their special contributions as leaders. Whether women naturally or through circumstances have developed more flexible and cooperative models of leadership, their position and their experience briefly put them ahead of male colleagues with that position or experience. (I say briefly because one might predict men beginning to find such jobs attractive as statuses are realigned.) Whether or not that position is maintained will depend not only on how women take on their new and significant roles as mould breakers, but also on whether or not these structural developments within organisations are precursors to more fundamental changes in the distribution of power between the old order and the new. The optimum NHS would presumably have professional and bureaucratic organisations, businesses and networks operating in synchrony according to function.

Personal Development

If organisations are perceived to be on a developmental journey, so are the individual leaders working within them. Campbell draws on the pattern of the heroic quest to describe the journey from wasteland to threshold; to adventures, ordeals and traps; and finally to restoration – the return only being the place from which to journey forth again (Campbell, 1968). Leon Jaworski draws on Greek mythology to identify four shifts in personal growth. He calls these, preparing to journey, crossing the threshold, the hero's journey and the gift (Jaworski, 1996). Similar stages are identified by Clarissa Pinkola Estes from fairy tales, myths and legends about women (Estes, 1992). These stages are not simply developing new capacities but signal fundamental shifts in approach, self-identity and mindset.

This is in sharp contrast to a traditional view of leaders which regard them as born not made. The new leaders, according to Bennis, know themselves intimately, including strengths and weaknesses; challenge themselves constantly; and understand the relationship between themselves and their organisation (Bennis & Townsend, 1996). Bennis talks about leaders 'reinventing themselves' referring to this self conscious process of reflection on personal growth and matching oneself to one's environment. It points to the kind of leadership that is 'crafted' rather than happens. According to Peter Vaill, leadership is a 'performing art', 'not learned, managerial leadership is learning' and the leader someone who takes on 'learning as a way of being' (Vaill, 1966). We acknowledge this dynamic in everyday life when we talk about 'playing it by ear', 'going with the flow' and 'thinking on our feet'. Argyris and Schon (1978) recognise the same process of learning and reflection on the learning process in their 'double-loop learning'. Schein too picks up the intimate relationship between the individual and the organisation. What distinguishes the leader from the manager is that the leader creates culture and embeds it in the organisation. While managers do, leaders are (Schein, 1992).

If this is so, opportunities and support for learning need to be in place. This is not just for women, but for men too, although, as Clarissa Pinkola Estes points out, the adventures, ordeals and traps for women may be rather different. The point is that leaders lead eventful lives. They do not become leaders by good fortune, or by avoiding difficult situations, but they become leaders by how they respond to those difficult situations and, crucially, by what they themselves learn from them which will subsequently inform that leadership.

This was important learning for women participating in Leadership 2000, some of whom, at the extreme, experienced 'shafting' by other colleagues in the NHS, others of whom found the price of self-awareness cost them dearly in respect of their personal relationships with partners at home. Indeed, it may be hard to find a leading woman, in the United Kingdom at least, who had not experienced one or other of these traumas as part of her learning. Leadership 2000 rapidly invented itself as a learning community in which these experiences and others were shared and in which the fear and loss that is the inward journey of transformation could be reflected on. At times this learning was explicit, at times not.

From time to time [the] tribe [gathered] in a circle. They just talked and talked and talked, apparently to no purpose. They made no decisions. There was no leader. Any and everybody could participate. There may have been wise men or wise women who were listened to a lot more – the older ones – but everybody would talk. The meeting went on, until it finally seemed to stop for no reason at all and the group dispersed. Yet after that everybody seemed to know what to do, because they understood each other so well. Then they would get together in smaller groups, and do something or decide things (Bohm, 1992).

Synchronicity and Leadership

Where organisational shift and personal development shift occur together there is potential for fundamental change in the collective as well as the individual mindset in the organisation. This symmetry is described by Jaworski as 'synchronicity'. Leaders, I believe, because of their personal and organisational power, have the capacity to make those situations of synchronicity turning points for their organisations. But this means being deeply aware of oneself and one's relationship to the organisation. Jonas Salk, inventor of the Salk vaccine for polio, spoke of a world unfolding kaleidoscopically according to a deeply ingrained order. He believed people

would develop the capacity to 'tap into this unfolding dynamic' and 'hurry it along'. In the *New York Times* he wrote, 'I have come to recognise evolution not only as an action process that I am experiencing all the time but as something I can guide by the choices I make' (Jaworski, 1996).

The same idea emerges elsewhere. Greenleaf talks about leaders allowing life to unfold through them (Greenleaf, 1977), about leaders choosing to serve. Peter Senge talks about leadership existing when people are no longer victims of circumstances but participate in creating new circumstances (Senge, 1990). And most recently of all, Brian Keenan, still clearly on a personal journey, talks about losing his sense of identity to a wider sense of being and direction (Keenan, 1996).

'Where You Stumble, There Your Treasure Lies' (Campbell, 1968)

If synchronicity can be a key to transformation in organisations, it is not clear that women's experience of synchronicity is the same as that of men. Put briefly, women seem to come unstuck much more easily on the journey to top leadership. While men too face challenges and dilemmas in the heroic quest, women seem all too often to choose not to undertake them or perhaps fail them. Why is this?

Clearly there are important reasons around context, culture and selection of tasks in which women's perceived differences of style and contribution can be devalued. Judy Rosener tells the joke about the CEO who, seeing a woman walk on water, declares to his colleagues, 'There you are, I told you she couldn't swim' (Rosener, 1996). I think there may also be differences in the personal journey women make. Bill Schutz talks about the ways in which organisations meet our hierarchy of needs, for inclusion (or joining), for autonomy (or self actualisation) and for affiliation (identity with the needs of others) (Schutz, 1984). My experience of Leadership 2000 would suggest that women may pursue their journey rather differently from men, with a primary need for affiliation, then for inclusion and only in the final event, reach for autonomy. This difference of need and motivation may go some way to explain why their personal journey is not in symmetry with traditional expectations of personal progression and with the dominant model of organisational development. It may also begin to explain why women appear to gravitate – and do extremely well – in leading network style organisations. After all, these are the organisations where affiliation takes precedence over autonomy. These ideas need further thought. However, this is not an argument against women's leadership in traditional settings. It is an argument for more open and flexible paths for personal progression to enable women to build their own developmental journeys.

Leadership: The Ideological Framework

I wanted to close with an explanation of why leadership is so important in organisational transition and with a plea for the kind of leadership which involves staff in designing and delivering on their collective future.

The NHS reforms can be perceived as a set of technical changes put in place to resolve what is primarily a resource problem and a political problem. The first White Paper, *Working for Patients*, was designed to answer the questions: How do you get more money into the NHS? How do you get existing money into the NHS? How do you get existing money in the NHS used more efficiently? How do you make the service more accountable to users? And, implicit within that, how do you retain votes? (*Working for Patients*, 1989).

At the same time the NHS reforms can be perceived, and have certainly developed, as a transformational process. They have arguably not only addressed technical but systemic or fundamental changes in the sense of culture, relationships and the locus and distribution of power within the NHS.

This is where leadership is important, for the search for leadership can all too often represent the search for security in an uncertain world. As staff or as service users, we project onto our leaders our own need for order and predictability, and in so doing we perpetuate the culture of dependence and paternalism that lies behind our old-style organisations and systems and thereby negate the change. For dependence is what allows paternalism to survive and playing victim and learned helplessness are responses to perceived powerlessness. The result is that creating visions and missions, which may have begun as empowerment tools, end up as ways of imposing the views of a senior minority on those of others, and decentralisation as a way of simply pushing paternalism down a level.

When the language of empowerment becomes the language of rhetoric, the experience becomes one of inauthenticity. Individuals feel unable to identify with the change processes going on around them. They feel cut off from their organisation, cut off from their work, and eventually cut off in themselves. We recognise this as stress.

This puts enormous pressures on leaders to simulate certainty, even to the point of personal display. We call this display "machismo management" And indeed while the literature on organisational development has moved on to talk about a process, much of that on leadership remains stuck – even reinforces – collusion with paternalism and is macho in style.

In truth we know that the only reliable leadership is in ourselves and that what is really needed from formal leaders is the environment and capacity to grow that which is inside us.

If people have specific wishes of us, we can say yes, but the extent that they are symbolic of other wishes... for self esteem, security and freedom, the answer must be no. It is not ours to give but theirs to claim for themselves. When we say no there is a wave of blame and disappointment we need to ride out in the search for empowerment and partnership. When we tell them we will no longer take care of them we have to offer them participation in co-delivering on their own future organisation (Block, 1993).

My sense is that delivering on empowerment in our organisations means managing the twin pillars of dependency and leadership. I call this the quest for participative democracy in our organisations and it forms the ideological context for this paper on leadership. By participative democracy I mean personal responsibility, accountability and contribution for survival and development.

Facilitating the growth of participative democracy in our organisations needs leaders within these organisations who can manage the deep fear and anxiety which underlies organisations in transition and which continually surface as we seek to exchange paternalism for participation. It needs leaders who can manage the connection between the old order and the new; who can tolerate diverse pathways and diverse paces. And this is why leaders need to be aware of their personal journey and how this facilitates or damages the collective journey. They need to be

able to recognise the synchronicity that can create turning points for change. And they need the courage and support to take those turning points. This is surely the task of the new leader.

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SPECIAL PRESENTATION

We're Going To Light The Bloody Thing Ourselves Revisited, October 1996

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The Henderson Credo – All the strength you need to achieve anything is within you. Don't wait for a light to appear at the end of the tunnel; stride down there... and light the bloody thing yourself! (Henderson, 1994)

Introduction

Lighting the Bloody thing ourselves is about NOT waiting for laws to change or government policies to be made more responsive or work practices to be in line with stated procedures. It is about knowing what we want, an unwillingness to accept less, and working to achieve that. It is about not accepting platitudes and excuses. It is about sweeping opposition and inertia aside and gathering in those whose energy adds to our own. It is about having the issues constantly on someone's agenda, chipping away at the established order and not accepting statements like 'that's just how it is'.

It has been said of Townsville that, and I quote both men and women, 'Townsville is the most misogynist city on the east coast', that 'it is red-neck country', and from a woman who had 'never experienced such sexual harassment and victimisation either at work or socially as [she] experienced here' and this one from a lawyer 'it is hard to get juries to convict in rape trials in Townsville'.

From the Police we know there are approximately forty rapes reported to Police each year in Townsville. From information published for Queensland, we know that for the 1993 and 1994 years there was a conviction rate for the State, of only 21%.

In the centre of the city, in March 1995, a woman was attacked, beaten, raped and left to die. This assault and the ensuing investigation, arrest and trial sparked huge reactions from a community which is much more likely to react visibly and audibly to a basketball game or a football match. People were stunned by the viciousness of the attack. People were stunned by what they heard or saw of the legal processes.

Lu's experience will demonstrate some of the horror of an actual assault as well as the horror of the interventions applied in the name of investigation, and legal process.

Lu's Experience

In March last year, I was walking across a bridge in Townsville late at night on my way home from a function. I felt perfectly safe and had walked home a number of times before. But this night was going to be different. This night was going to change the direction of my life. A man ran up behind me, grabbed me by the hair and round the neck and demanded my money. Once told that I had none he pushed me down some stairs and under the bridge, still holding me by the hair and neck and all the while telling me that he intended to rape and kill me. Having forced me to the ground in a corner he grabbed me by the throat and started to choke me. During the entire attack he always had me by the throat with at least one hand, throttling me, cutting off my air supply. Several times I came close to losing consciousness as I battled to get his hands off my throat. He punched me in the mouth knocking my front tooth out completely and damaging two others. He pulled away his and my clothing and told me to 'put it in' and made me assist him with the penetration. He slipped out and made me repeat the action. That is as much of the rape as I recall – whether it went further I have no idea because at this stage he said, yet again, 'I'm going to kill you' and added 'I've got a rock'. He smashed me in the face with it several times, fracturing my skull, breaking my nose and severely lacerating my forehead. I lost consciousness.

When I came to I was alone. I somehow managed to drag myself back up to the road and a couple in a passing car stopped and took me to the emergency department at the hospital. They later said they had seen the man running back but when they stopped for me he ran off.

The rest of that night is a confused blur – my husband was contacted and the police arrived. My wounds were attended to – my face stitched. CT scans were carried out. My eyes were so bruised and swollen that I could not see for days. I was vomiting. I was not allowed to drink, wash or go to the toilet. I was on a drip. The police were asking me questions. The Pathologist arrived. I was in pain. I wasn't allowed to have any pain killers. I was subjected to the further degradation, humiliation and violation of the forensic examination. I felt dirty. I hurt. I was scared. I wanted to sleep. I was eventually taken to the wards, but then the nightmares started and I would wake screaming. My husband was beside me constantly – he slept in a chair beside me with his head on my bed and holding my hand. I was in hospital for five days.

A man on parole from Adelaide jail, where he had been serving a sentence for his third rape conviction, was arrested in Townsville a day or two after the attack and charged with deprivation of liberty, assault occasioning bodily harm, rape, attempted murder, grievous bodily harm, unlawful wounding, assault occasioning bodily harm while armed and stealing with violence.

The police had interviewed me again at length during my stay in hospital. But it was not until some three weeks later that I was shown a photoboard of 12 men and asked if my assailant was amongst them. I really did not want to see his face on that sheet. But it was and I identified the Adelaide man as my attacker.

What happened on the night of the attack turned out to be the easy part. It took weeks before I could find out if my AIDS and Hepatitis tests were clear – remembering my attacker had been in jail for years. I had to go back to hospital and have plastic surgery. I was terrified of the

anaesthetic – all I could think of was the last time I had lost consciousness, had been out of control, was at the hands of that man. Apart from the physical healing process, I was now faced with having to go back to work, having to face people, having to walk into functions, having to answer their questions and thank people for their thoughts and their concern. By now I was under the care of a psychologist. She said I was coping extremely well – considering. My hair was falling out. I was down to 52 kg in weight. My relationship with my husband, although strengthened in some areas, was suffering. I was experiencing mood swings, times of extreme depression, and severe headaches.

In August the committal hearing took place. John and I each received a summons asking us to attend on the Monday, the first of three days set aside. I'd never been to court before. I knew nothing about the procedures. And we weren't told anything. When we arrived at the court on the Monday we were told 'Oh didn't we tell you not to come today, you won't be needed; we'll ring you when you are'. We were sent home, where we sat waiting for the telephone to ring, unable to concentrate on anything else. We were called in on Wednesday. We sat in a public area waiting for our turn. I could see into the court room and I could see the back of my attacker. At one stage he was taken to the toilet and walked right past us. Eventually we were put around the corner.

The police had asked on my behalf for the accused to be absent from the room while I gave my evidence but the Magistrate had refused this on the grounds that he would need to be convinced that it would cause severe psychological distress to me. In one way it turned out to be good for me to have him in the room because I then knew without any doubt that this was the man. I was questioned by his defence council. The prosecuting officer (a policeman) asked me nothing – I met him only minutes before I went into court. The man was committed to stand trial. Bail was refused.

Eventually the Police advised a trial date for November. We were told that the Department of Public Prosecutions would be in touch. I was extremely anxious to talk to someone and find out something about the procedure. But no-one rang. I started to get desperate. Eventually my husband rang the D.P.P. and told them that unless someone talked to me, and soon, they would lose their 'star witness'. They rang and arranged an appointment – it was now about five weeks before the trial. They told me the accused would face charges on three counts (of the original 8) those being attempted murder, grievous bodily harm and rape. They told me about the procedure, told me about the accused's record, and showed me photographs of myself after the attack which I would have to view in court. I spoke to the same person in the D.P.P. on several other occasions when I rang with a question. I did not meet the prosecutor until the Friday before the trial.

We attended court on the Monday. We sat in the witness room all day until 6.00 o'clock. On Tuesday we waited again all morning. I was then sent for a psychiatrist's assessment in the afternoon. This report never made the courtroom, the defence council successfully keeping it out. After several false alarms I was finally called to give evidence on Thursday afternoon. The cross examination lasted for two hours before court was recessed for the night. Then for three more hours the following morning. It was so destructive having to tell my story over and over again in the graphic detail that the barrister demanded, to so many people, mainly men, while my attacker just sat and was asked nothing. Nothing. My words were twisted and turned by the defence. Things I had said at the hospital on the night I was admitted, which I couldn't

even remember, were thrown up at me. I had been told previously that I was the 'star witness' – that was all I was – a witness. I never really felt that it was my case – I had absolutely no ownership. To me it appeared a game of oneupmanship between the two barristers. The trial continued for two weeks. The jury deliberated for two days. He was acquitted on all three charges. I found out when a member of the local media contacted me for an interview for the morning paper.

A lot of women don't have the strength to ask questions, the knowledge of whom to ask or the sheer Goddamn determination to find out if they don't know. It is important that at some stage you feel in control. Control is taken out of your hands at the time of the attack, and unless you fight bloody hard, there is a real danger that you might never get it back. The attack is not the only violation – this continues at the time of the forensic examination, through the police interviews, through the looks you (think ?) you see in people's faces, every time you see violence on television or read about it in the paper, and culminates in the most traumatising violation of them all – the trial. The need for the early return of self esteem and control is paramount in the healing process.

I was so naive – I believed that our system looked after honest people and that if I went through all of this then this man would be put away where he could do no more hurt. It didn't work – he is now out on parole again. So if the system doesn't work, the next challenge is changing the system so that it does.

Catherine continues – History and the Present

Lu's experience would be absolutely abhorrent if it were only she who had had this experience. She is not. Time and time again we hear of women who have been mauled by systems which are supposedly about achieving a conviction on their behalf and condemning these crimes in the eyes of society.

Queensland's justice system operates within a framework developed when women were property items, a proposition which no woman currently finds tenable. However, community attitudes and the behaviour exhibited in medical/forensic, police and legal processes do not lend themselves to thinking that much has changed.

Townsville has had a strong feminist presence responding to sexual violence and actively working for change since 1978, with the establishment of the Rape Crisis Service, now the Townsville-Thuringowa Sexual Assault Support Service (S.A.S.S.), which became part of North Queensland Combined Women's Services – The Women's Centre – in 1986.

Since the assault on Lu, individuals and groups who would otherwise have paid little attention, have begun to question the laws, policies and practices which encircle a sexual assault survivor, and to work with organisations such as ours.

Police

It has always been our contention that women have a right to a support person of their choice with her throughout all Police interviews. Over the years numerous attempts to ensure this happens have achieved mixed results. Police Protocols have been introduced this year which emphasise this, however, it is still difficult to achieve. Women have continually been told after

the statement taking/forensic examination; not told at all; or handed a card on their way out the door, telling them of the S.A.S.S.

One woman was denied the support of her husband as the Police said he was too angry to accompany her and had been drinking. This woman was not offered any alternative. She endured the statement-taking unsupported and the forensic examination with both a female and a male police officer in the examination room.

Once the statement taking is complete, contact between the complainant and Police becomes problematic. Phone calls are not returned. Requests for information are not answered. Explanations regarding court processes are too little and too late. Discussions regarding changes to charges laid often take place without input from the complainant.

This is not to say this is true for *ALL* Police or that it is true *ALL* the time *BUT* it forms more of a pattern than supportive, timely, sensitive, useful responses.

Forensic/Medical Response

This is one area where the complaints have been constant for many years. Government Medical Officers do not receive training, prior to taking up the position, in the care and support requirements of sexual assault survivors. They do not receive ongoing in service training nor evaluation which involves input from those who have been examined by the GMO. Accountability is difficult to establish.

The issue of who will do a medical/forensic examination; when; what will/will not be included as part of that; who will/will not be present at the examination, have long been contentious. Throughout Queensland there are current debates regarding what is an extremely poor situation.

- Women have been kept waiting for hours because the GMO stated that they are not to be contacted overnight for sexual assault forensics.
- A forensic examination is conducted from start to finish in 20 minutes.
- No explanation provided and women not asked for their consent to any of the procedures.
- Women left naked and uncovered for the entire examination.
- No prophylactic information or follow-up offered or advised.

These are just some of the often heard complaints which exacerbate the trauma and produce large cracks in women's belief that the system will look after their needs.

Committal Hearings

Committal proceedings are handled by Police who receive six months training. Women only meet the Police Prosecutor on the morning of the Committal hearing, perhaps speaking with them for fifteen minutes before entering the court. Defence counsel with their legal training, experience and adequate preparation time available to them, disadvantage the complainant and Police Prosecutors.

Generally in Townsville, women's statements of the assault are handed up to the Magistrate. Therefore, the first taste of having to answer questions in the court setting is from the often belligerent defence counsel.

Office Of The Director Of Public Prosecutions (DPP)

After committal, lack of contact, information, updates, not meeting the actual Crown Prosecutor until very close to trial – currently it is the morning the trial begins – and late-in-the-day preparations for court, all add to the stresses for complainants and other witnesses. Both DPP and the police play a vital role and yet there is no clarity as to whose role reaches out to what point. Here, as at committal, women feel peripheral to proceedings, an adjunct to them, not the intrinsic component.

One issue for complainants and witnesses is having to state verbally in court, their address and occupation. It is rarely mentioned prior to the trial but is one which leaves women feeling very exposed and scared of the possible consequences.

Where Are We Going

Constantly waiting for governments to 'do the right thing' is exhausting, time-consuming and frustrating. Nationally and at State level, women must be involved in the development of appropriate responses. It is untenable to have government, of whatever persuasion, *TELLING* us what we want or need. Respect for the knowledge we have, as workers in the area of Prevention of Violence Against Women, must be accorded its due.

In Townsville S.A.S.S. has established a Sexual Assault Responses Reference Group which includes representatives from the Police, D.P.P., Lu representing survivors, the Townsville Division of General Practice, Victims of Crime Association, a male counsellor for men survivors, Family Planning Association, S.A.S.S. representing women's services and Open Youth Project representing youth services and Townsville General Hospital. Meetings for the Reference Group are held at the Women's Centre, when it is closed to the public, in an effort to remove some of the mystique which surrounds a women-only feminist agency.

The philosophy developed by the group is to provide an integrated approach to returning control of events to the survivor in order to restore self esteem through empowerment. The most important element for the success of this group is a commitment to continuing, non-defensive involvement in the improvement of current responses.

A significant paper, produced by a group comprising Soroptimist International Clubs in Townsville, Lu and myself, was compiled by us all utilising my knowledge and expertise and Lu's experience. It was circulated to saturation point to Government, Opposition, Department heads and the local community. This paper was one step in a never-ending process of ensuring the issues faced by survivors are not forgotten.

Police

To improve women's experience of the police response S.A.S.S. is negotiating with the police locally to provide information sessions to Criminal Investigation Bureau and Juvenile Aid Bureau personnel regarding who we are, what we do and how our involvement will be of benefit to them in carrying out their role. The Reference Group will also assist this process.

S.A.S.S. has already established strong links with the new Police Academy which opened in Townsville in last month and has participated in educative sessions for Police trainees.

Forensic / Medical Responses

This area provides us with our biggest headache. Dr Anne Cambridge, of The Townsville Division of General Practice and myself from the S.A.S.S. submitted a proposal to Queensland Health to provide medical and/or forensic responses to adult survivors of sexual violence. The proposal provides for a panel of women doctors to be on-call to carry out medical and forensic procedures, a training program, support and debriefing for the doctor, appropriate remuneration, a project officer to draw it all together for the first year, and necessary equipment.

Currently, in Townsville, it is our understanding that there is no official forensic/medical response available. A recent incident in which a woman was kept waiting for 4 hours for a forensic examination, and treated by the GMO in what she describes as a very poor manner, led to a public outcry after the GMO stated that an examination could be conducted up to twenty four hours later.

In the subsequent 1996 Queensland Budget, the government agreed to place a full-time GMO in Townsville and to implement a roster of women General Practitioners. There was lots of publicity and public fanfare by Coalition politicians, but no action.

Dr. Cambridge and I developed a one-day training programme which encompassed clarification of values and attitudes, police procedures, forensic and court requirements and court processes, the responsibilities and difficulties in the role of the expert witness and the issue of gender of attending police, support and medical personnel.

Gender-appropriate services are a must. However, just being female is insufficient. Believing the survivor, understanding the effects on the individual, and knowledge of broader issues surrounding sexual violence are vitally important. Unfortunately Queensland Health has not agreed to implement the entire Roster proposal. The department agreed to train doctors for the roster but took no steps to carry this out.

On her own initiative, and in recognition of the needs of Townsville women, Dr. Cambridge organised the first training day and notified Queensland Health of the financial commitment which they would have to meet. Training was held on November 9th 1996 with nineteen doctors participating. The doctors were not paid nor were the professionals presenting the training.

As a result of the training day there are six doctors willing to be on a roster because they recognise the necessity for the roster to be done and done well. Further development is required and Queensland Health must support the co-ordination of the roster to ensure its viability. Doctors also require the support of the community. We need to remember that these doctors may have been subjected to abuse and violence and may feel unsafe and vulnerable. They need positive feedback, ongoing training, professional debriefing and understanding that they do not always get it 100% right.

Court Processes

Court processes should be streamlined with DPP, rather than police, conducting committal hearings. The government states this must be cost-effective. It must surely be cost effective to present a case which is better prepared and has more chance of achieving a conviction. In order to induct complainants, and other witnesses, into court processes, they must be taken through their statements by the prosecutor at committal, before facing defence counsel.

There must be increased liaison between DPP/Police and the complainant regarding court hearing dates, including an explanation of the inevitability of delays due to the court system of a running court list. Detailing for people, in the first place, what they are up against, allows them to deal much better with the issue. When there is no warning, no information and an expectation that they will just cope, anxiety and frustration build.

Training and Community Education

Training is crucial for all those involved in responding to survivors of sexual violence, not just procedural issues to do with their own or departmental roles but an overarching program which addresses values, attitudes to the job, to the survivor, myths, and effects and allows for everyone to understand where they fit on the continuum of support and service provision.

S.A.S.S. provides training for many government departments, welfare agencies, and university lectures. This is a good foundation and training programs conducted by the Reference Group and for the organisations represented in it, will provide a more comprehensive approach and cover all aspects of service provision.

Conclusion

Change requires like-minded thinking and action from many individuals and groups who can maintain their energy and resolve beyond those who will say 'that's just how it is'.

You have heard that rape is a crime of power over another individual using sex as the weapon;

- that it can happen to any female, of any age, any social level;
- that it can happen anywhere, anytime;
- that the perpetrator holds the sole responsibility for the commission of this crime;
- that women are not to blame;
- that a lot of people are working for change;
- that change needs to continue and it takes continued energy to achieve it;
- you have learned the facts about some of the myths;
- you have learned of some of the injustices.

We hope that you now know that you too can make a difference.

DIDN'T THINK YOU WOULD DO IT BEING A WOMAN

Marylyn Rodgers

I've thought long and hard about what to say to you today, to an audience, the majority of whom would probably be younger than myself and whose experience of life quite different. An audience who, for whatever reason, are interested in learning more about those amazing phenomena to which university departments have dedicated themselves, for which Governments have legislated and for which seminars have been organised and papers written – the 'problems' of women who aspire to be recognised for their intrinsic worth. Women aspire to be seen simply in terms of themselves as individuals and to be respected and listened to as such, and not as women first and then, surprise, as capable, intelligent, able to think even on those special days. I mean, who amongst us would dare presume a man was thinking with his hormones or having a mid life crisis.

We are up against some pretty powerful messages. In the Bible, Genesis, Chapter One, the first time that woman is mentioned is when God created woman and man in his image. Later on in Genesis comes the creation of Woman from Adam's rib. One wonders why the change? Already it had started.

Probably our biggest mistake was to give Adam a bite of that apple, but we did, so now we have to deal with it!

In my experience, there is always a hard way to do something and an easy way. This applies particularly to living the way we choose.

Hamlet's words of his great soliloquy are relevant here.

To be, or not to be, that is the question; whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune or to take arms against a sea of troubles and by opposing, end them...

We all have to make that choice. Hamlet continues by noting that 'enterprises of great pith and moment with this regard, their currents turn awry and loose the name of action'. How many of my generation are doing this, marking time, coping with situations because it's just too hard? I don't judge them harshly, because much of what one has to do is just too difficult.

The subject of much of this conference is ethics. On this subject, I will simply say what ethics means to me. It is the only possession we take with us into the next life. That is the ethics we live our lives by, the way we think as well as what we do. I happen to believe our thoughts manifest themselves in our lives as tangibly as our deeds.

My personal experience is not unique - a child of my time, I was brought up to be a good wife and mother. I left school at fourteen, learnt shorthand and typing, dressmaking and cooking whilst waiting for my protector to arrive, the person who would make me complete.

I duly had four daughters in four years and one month - I was very enthusiastic and it seems in a great hurry. I figured if I was busy with one, I might as well be busy with four. My husband, a very good provider worked diligently in his law practice.

As my daughters grew up, I suddenly became very aware my busy life as a mother was coming to its natural conclusion and I would soon be out of a job. I had none of those kindly yearnings to be a grandmother; besides ten years later none are married! I found this a bit frightening, as my whole world was my family. My formal education or lack of it, as well as my life experiences, had not prepared me for this next stage which hit me about ten years ago.

Formal education was for me worse than it sounds. I hated school and was always in trouble. As a teenager, I did exactly as I was told, and until I turned forty three I continued in this vein. I can tell you now I am going to be a rebellious geriatric.

With a huge amount of energy and my career as a mother coming to an abrupt end, I had absolutely no preparation for, or idea of how to deal with what I was going to do with the rest of my life. I asked my Father if I could become involved in his business. Though he had a huge admiration for myself and my sister as capable mothers and individuals, he told me flatly that he didn't think women should be in business. I discussed this with him on several occasions. Once he suggested I get a dress shop. On another occasion I said if I had been born a boy he would give me a go and he agreed.

On occasions I spoke to a lawyer about my personal assets, as I was a shareholder in my father's company. At these times I felt I was treated in a very patronising manner and was told I had nothing to worry about and really, I was most fortunate. I knew that, but that was not the point. I basically accepted that this was the way women were treated and I usually found a way round the block to find out what I wanted to know. Needless to say, the lawyer who handles my affairs today actually listens to me and asks me what I want. I think lawyers like this are still a rare breed.

At this stage I should mention a little about my life in politics. While I was prepared to be the Social Secretary and make the scones and sell the tickets, things went smoothly. The first time I decided to stand as President of a branch, was when the fun and games started. It became quite clear to me that I had laid no ground work as others had for a career in politics in any area other than scone making! It is history that I stood for the federal seat of Perth, the second most difficult seat to win, and achieved one percent more than any other electorate in that election. Despite this, I did not receive the nomination at the next pre-selection for the following federal election. Undaunted, I tried for Fremantle - the most difficult seat to win in Western Australia, but no, the pre-selection was given to someone who wasn't even going to be here for one month of the campaign. The barriers presented in this situation made it impossible for me as a woman to receive support. There were naturally other issues involved, but the particular faction that opposed me believe that woman are too emotional to be in politics.

One way round all of this was to get involved in the 500 Club, an organisation that supports a vibrant free enterprise economy through the support of the Liberal and National Parties. I have just relinquished the Chairmanship after six years, during which time the membership went from eighty five to five hundred.

I now accept that a career in politics is not for me. However, I got so frustrated. So after looking at my personal assets, I started a cleaning business. Really boring in the end but I did know how to clean and how to assess people, an asset that stands me in good stead today. It served its purpose. For the first time it gave me an identity other than someone's Mother or someone's Wife. Up to that moment I had accepted without question these preordained roles.

It's funny the simple things that can determine where life takes you. One morning as I was reading the paper, I read an article that said we should change our careers about every twenty years. That is when I started Elite Home Help just to prove I could feed myself.

It was about this time I began to trust my own instincts and judgments and to take responsibility for my own life. I think I overdid it at first. I was quite obnoxious; standing up for myself and deciding what I wanted was important – quite a shock to the family.

I had an incredible experience which I took as a sign that I was on the right track. It was the heady days of the share boom and I was right there in it. I'd worked for a stock broker before I was married and it seemed to be the one acceptable way I could exercise some control over my finances. Some twelve years before at the height of the Poesiden share price run, I had allowed my husband to make the decision not to sell my shares. I decided this time I would not discuss with him my decision to sell my share holdings. On that fateful Friday afternoon, the last market in the world for me to sell in before the crash of October, 1987, I sold because I had a gut fear that left me in no doubt whatsoever that I wanted out. The rest is history. After my father died, we sold the family business and I received the capital from my share holdings. It became very clear to me that I had to invest this money in something that would provide me with an income. I also wanted it to provide me with an interest. To this end I agreed to see people for twenty minutes when I was approached with 'great deals'. One day, someone approached me to borrow money at a high interest rate – something I had been taught never to do. I said I would take equity in a deal, but not loan them money.

Buying my hotel on that fateful Monday was based in an incredibly strong feeling that this was it. Of course the figures told the right story but they certainly didn't tell the whole story; they rarely do. With my upbringing I wouldn't have had the confidence to buy the hotel without a man to manage it. I mean men know how to do these things, don't they?

My former partner and I met at 10.30am at his office to discuss the deal. We went to the bank at 11.30am and arranged the finance; drove to Fremantle to have a look at the hotel. I called my husband on the way back to Perth to let him know I was 'thinking' I should move fast on this deal as it looked very good. He advised me not to do anything impetuously and I assured him I wouldn't knowing full well that I had decided to buy the hotel. I felt I was covered in case he felt I hadn't talked to him about it. I was a little concerned how he would take it if I came home that night and told him I'd bought a hotel.

At about 3.50pm I called my lawyer. By now he was the one who treated me as an intelligent being. Mind you he might have had some doubts when I said I wanted his help to buy this hotel but he didn't show it. At 4.50pm my former partner and I shook on the deal. His first words to me as his new partner were 'I didn't think you'd do it being a woman.' That was my first warning of what was to come in the way he treated me as a 50% partner. Two months later I owned the hotel outright. That was five years ago.

I still occasionally come across men with an attitude, but it's happening less and less. I believe it's because I've changed. I no longer accept without question other people's views of what I should do or be; therefore they don't try to put them on me.

My daughters have lived through the experience of my transformation. This is the only way I believe things will change in our society. It's really up to us to be role models to our children and it's just as important for the mothers of sons as it is of mothers of daughters.

As women, we don't have 'the old boy system'. This is regrettable but I believe in time this will occur. I think the reason women don't support other women in the manner men help other men is that many women have had to fight so hard to achieve their success in a world that sees the female before the person. To that end I have initiated a group of Women Who Influence which numbers about fifty. I hope in time these women will engender the spirit for other women to know they can turn to each other for help, where the opportunities are still limited for females in a world men have owned for so long.

There is a price to pay. Sadly, I think it is the next few generations of children born to men and women who are still stuck in the old ways of viewing the world. I suspect all that is necessary is a simple attitude change to each other's uniqueness in whatever endeavour, a confidence and comfortableness in who we are, and an inner security that allows us all to accept we are all OK.

I said it is simple, I didn't say it was easy.

REFEREED

PAPERS

YOU BLOKES GOING TO LUNCH? STRATEGIES IN THE FACE OF MALE BONDING

Susan Bambrick
La Trobe University

Abstract

Both below and above the glass ceiling, male bonding can be used consciously and unconsciously to isolate women and marginalise their concerns. We know we have the right to be treated as a human being rather than as an extra-terrestrial but, in practice, what do we do? Do we:

- (i) come reluctantly to the view that we must swallow our principles and seek acceptance as honorary blokes to survive in the job?
- (i) try to change the communal culture, either subtly or assertively?
- (ii) decide to run a parallel culture (perhaps of one)?
- (iii) choose a male mentor? Or
- (iv) try any combination of (i) to (iv) or a better strategy? Or
- (v) retire into our shell, then drop out?

Sharing experience at all levels assists in developing coping strategies. Here I draw on my own experience and encourage others to do the same.

Key Words: male bonding, exclusion, management strategies.

In universities, in corporations, in the professions and in government there have been significant barriers to women's access, continuing participation, and promotion.

Some of these barriers have been overt. The marriage bar, which required a woman to resign her permanent position in the Commonwealth Public Service when she married, was mirrored in government service elsewhere. Countless women teachers across Australia lost their permanency as they married. The young women of today must wonder therefore why their mothers' generation went through the formality of marriage, for it is difficult at even this short distance for younger women to appreciate the strength of social pressures against de-facto relationships, the context of sex before The Pill, and the all-pervading need to ensure a child was able legally to bear its father's name.

Harsh as the marriage bar was, at least it could be removed and seen to be removed. Much more difficult to obliterate are the social attitudes which live on in the minds of some people, both men and women, who have a clear idea of women's place – and it is not as vice-chancellors, managing directors, permanent heads of government departments, and leaders in the professions. Unfortunately these are not attitudes which are disappearing entirely as those who hold them die; similar values are being accepted by some in the next generation.

Much more difficult to change, too, are the behaviour patterns – of both men and women – which reinforce the stereotyped roles we have inherited. For women, one of the greatest challenges in aspiring to leadership positions outside the home is male bonding. It was there in the nineteen fifties to reinforce the effect of the marriage bar in the public service, and to produce its invisible equivalent in corporations and to a slightly lesser extent, in universities and the professions.

Male bonding manifests itself both above and below the glass ceiling. Male bonding can be used, consciously or unconsciously to isolate women and marginalise their concerns. Can women ever hope to overcome its effect?

Male bonding has been around a long time – look at the twelve Apostles, the Roman armies, and the Crusades. Male bonding has been both encouraged by women and deplored by them. 'Thank God he's gone to golf' and 'I wish he wouldn't spend so much time at the pub with his mates' can both be heard from those women who make a habit of discussing their partner with their own bonding group.

Male bonding can be not only proactive but reactive. Men seek other company when their women partners are busy elsewhere in pursuits they cannot, or do not want to share, whether it be paid employment, household or family duties, sport or social activities. For men seeking alternative company, going to the footy with the blokes from work may represent the lowest-risk strategy.

Male bonding does not, however, necessarily mean renunciation of interest in women. It can however, mean that women are seen in a very restricted role, as existing primarily to provide sexual pleasure for men. At its worst, male bonding means pack rape; and before you wonder what place that has in relation to the themes of this conference, let me ask the women present if they have ever been in a committee as the only woman and been savaged.

I have over the years frequently had my suggestions in committee ignored until a man takes them up, at which stage everyone applauds his suggestion. That is a well-documented phenomenon for women round the world. However, I recall one meeting long ago where I had to speak to an agenda item containing an unpopular message. I had to provide the papers in advance. I had earlier circulated a draft asking for comment. I had received none. It became obvious in the meeting that the men had decided to attack together. I coped with it all professionally, as I had not expected approbation and I knew how these men worked. What did make me very angry was a private comment from one of them later: 'I do like to see the chaps having fun'.

Bonding heterosexual males may show this same delight in united taunting and attack on homosexual males. Again, while the attack in a dark alley is illegal, the attack in committee – unless there is overt discrimination – carries no penalty; and the leader of the pack gains status in the eyes of his fellows. It behoves us to remember that in some sections of the workplace, women may be not only in the majority but also in control. There, they need to be careful to ensure that the isolated men they deal with are not treated inappropriately.

We should also acknowledge that not all men have strong tendencies to male bonding. Some choose their friends according to social and intellectual compatibility, rather than by gender. Some are able to select and promote staff on merit, without gender bias, as they do not feel the need simply to clone themselves. They are inclusive at work, at home, and socially. Fortunately, this group of men is substantial in number and some of us are fortunate to work with them.

Some of us do work in supportive environments, appreciated for our skills and contribution, allocated challenging and rewarding responsibilities and promoted. For those of us not comfortable in a strongly male – even a macho male – environment, what can we do?

Women aspiring to leadership recognise that the male bonding challenging them is not just the blokey culture of the cartoon, centred on beer and pubs, but a more subtle and nebulous phenomenon. It marginalises them, they know, but they may find it hard to pin down just why and how they are successfully isolated. When they feel they are being treated like an extra-terrestrial, they may even assume it is their own fault. It is essential that women come to see male bonding of this nature for what it is – unacceptable school playground behaviour. The playground bullies may now be wearing three piece suits and silk ties, but social skills and sensitivity have not kept pace with the bank balance.

Do we:

- (i) come reluctantly to the view that we must swallow our principles and seek acceptance as 'honorary blokes' to survive in the job?
- (ii) try to change the communal culture, either subtly or assertively?
- (iii) decide to run a parallel culture (perhaps of one)?
- (iv) choose a male mentor? Or
- (v) retire into our shell, then drop out ?

In Australia in the nineteen forties, fifties and sixties, there were typing pools and there were women's jobs as shop assistants and bank clerks. Women in these occupations were expected to know their place and not to harbour aspirations beyond them, apart from marriage and children. Their pattern of expected behaviour was clearly established, as was their expected relationship with their male 'bosses'. In professions where women were present in large numbers, like nursing and teaching, some women did have considerable responsibilities – for instance, hospital matrons and headmistresses of large schools for girls – but they were within well-defined and 'appropriate' areas and there was often a predominantly male Board or Governing Council to make what they saw as the more important decisions (involving money, rather than people). In big business, women did not usually reach anywhere near the top, although there were notable exceptions overseas who created their own top. (One thinks here of Helena Rubenstein). Women were often shareholders in public companies, but not on their boards.

In government, women had occupied positions of responsibility during World War II, but peacetime saw life return to normal where women were simply not usually permitted to reach the top. Perhaps women's abilities were seen to be limited to a particular level of responsibility; perhaps male authority was seen to be necessary; perhaps women were seen as too emotional to be reliable; perhaps they were assumed to be likely to marry and have to leave; or perhaps, as

they could not become clones of those at the top they simply could not be appointed to a place from which they might reach the top.

In universities, there were no obvious barriers to entry. If women matriculated, if their families valued education for women and could afford the fees, or if they won a scholarship (with or without a living allowance), then entry to undergraduate programs was available. Entry to postgraduate programs was also available on merit to women and men and where postgraduate scholarships and travelling fellowships were offered on merit, some women proceeded to doctoral studies overseas or at home. Thus the pool of Australian women qualified to join the academic staff of universities continued to grow and the proportion of academic staff who were women began to rise and continued to do so. Yet it was the nineties before women vice-chancellors became more than an outside possibility and the proportion of women in senior university ranks rose only slowly, although there were very distinguished women amongst them.

Palaeontologist Dr Dorothy Hill, born in 1909, served as President of the Professorial Board at the University of Queensland and President of the Australian Academy of Science – as well as becoming a Fellow of the Royal Society and a Fellow of the Moscow Academy. My present Chancellor is another very distinguished scientist, microbiologist Professor Emeritus Nancy Millis. As with Dr. Hill before her, her career has been marked not only by her contribution to science, but by the respect and affection with which her former students view her. The present Chancellor of the University of Sydney, Dame Leonie Kramer, made her academic career in literature. These three, like other distinguished women before and since, had the same strategies for success – being outstanding contributors in their field and being determined to succeed.

The 'honorary male' strategy – conscious or unconscious – was necessary for some women who aspired to senior university positions until very recent times and in some institutions – despite legislative and social changes – it remains so. It did not mean that women had to dress in grey suits and wear ties, indeed many retained their personal femininity. But at work, they conformed to behaviour patterns set by men and promulgated values determined by men. And why not? The only role models were usually men, and after all, there is no reason why academic judgment should differ between males and females, although individual judgments of either a man or a woman may differ from time to time from the collegial view.

At the time when women academic staff at senior level were not numerous, it was often the case that they did not marry, have a long-term partner or have children. They played for the most part by established male norms, without too many onerous domestic duties, and if they were able to do that, they made reasonable careers for themselves to a point beyond which they could not aspire. Some of the women who did marry and/or have children or who were looking after aged relatives sometimes found it best not to mention much of their domestic detail at work lest they be thought 'distracted', 'emotional', 'not giving her full attention to her teaching/research' and so on.

Sadly, in some institutions – universities, government and business – playing the ‘honorary male’ game is still a necessary step to success. Until those women who reach close to the top are able to relax and be themselves, the ‘honorary male’ game will not disappear. It is moribund in some institutions, but remains alive in others. I know one university where one of the women professors is so aware of the unwritten values of her colleagues that she will not be seen lunching with women even once, in case she is thought to have betrayed the brotherhood.

I underline that I am suggesting women relax and be themselves, not that they adopt a contrary attitude to men just to be different. If both sexes are able to make academic judgments and conduct staff selection and promotion without sex-based bias, the institution will be all the stronger.

For ambitious women of merit to choose (carefully) a male mentor ranks with being an ‘honorary male’ as a successful strategy in a male-dominated organisation. The combination of the two rarely fails.

For those who find subjugation to male dominance distasteful, and who want to succeed solely on their own merits, attempting to change the communal culture, subtly or overtly, is their personal challenge.

If any of you are here, let me remind you of my title: ‘You blokes going to lunch?’ It may be habit that the men go to the pub for lunch every day and you as a woman are excluded. Take the initiative, and invite yourself. If they refuse to include you, at least you will know it is intentional. If they welcome your presence and invite you again – even if not every time – you have made real progress. You may even find you will occasionally be able to suggest a different venue if you want to. Taking the initiative is an exhilarating experience. A word of warning, though. Be ready to pay your share of the bill before a kind gentleman has done it for you. That just might spoil the effect! And remember, you are not an honorary male, you are there as yourself.

I recall very well the day I ceased to be invisible in my department. I had been on secondment to the Australian Public Service Board for a year, and returned in time for a departmental meeting. It was decided to review a particular program and a volunteer was sought. I volunteered. The meeting went on as though I had not spoken. It was an unusual day for me. I had been invested at Government House in the morning with my OBE, and had, contrary to my normal very sober habits, enjoyed the Vice Regal champagne. So I said very firmly, ‘Hey, I’ve been at the Public Service Board for a year and become accustomed to being treated as a human being. I got to like it. Now, I volunteered for the review...’ My offer was accepted and there was a rush to serve with me...

Remember, too, the theory of countervailing power. Used like a sledgehammer, an all-female bloc-voting in union against the men – is likely to be counterproductive and implausible. Used subtly it can be quite effective. It is also very important to use the woman power which is available to you, and to recognise where it works against you. Often, but by no means always, the male bonding against you will be reinforced by women – working in secretarial roles (to you or your colleagues) or as partners to your colleagues. Above all, be sure your own administrative assistants/executive officers/secretaries are

- (i) able to work with woman supervisors and
- (ii) able to enhance your reputations in the workplace rather than undermine them.

The first is a matter of careful selection, and the second of taking the time and trouble.

Remember, too, that male bonding is not just a bar to climbing the ladder, it can be the greasy pole which replaces it. Some men working for you may find having to accept a woman supervisor too damaging for their ego. They may combine subtly or unsubtly with other men above, beside and below you in the hierarchy to undermine you. They may be reinforced by those women who also prefer a male supervisor to whom they can relate in their habitual way. Such cancerous behaviour needs to be confronted – gently or strongly as each case demands. ‘Winning over’ may be possible; in extreme cases, excision may be necessary. In the last case, the male mentor quietly in the background improving credibility can be helpful. I hope always as I see cases like this that the next generation of women will find it easier and achieve more without apology or male validation.

If you cannot change the culture, or introduce countervailing power, you may find yourself operating in a culture of one, tangential to the main culture, touching it at one point – which will hopefully be the core activity of the institution.

I am reminded of a tutor's comment in a Year 11 school report: “Fiona really seems well in control at the moment. She quietly goes about her business without being either unaware of or removed from the tutor group and its activities. She is reliable and always willing to help”

This gives the key to the parallel culture, the culture of one. It will be tolerated and even encouraged while you work harder than everyone else and produce good results; and good performance will be rewarded with more work and greater expectations. This may sound a cynical comment and the process may not sound fair, but it is distinctly possible. If you are lucky, there may be thanks. Salary increases and promotions may or may not follow.

The consolation is that at least you will still be contributing. No modern Australian woman of merit should have to retire into her shell or drop out. She has legislation on her side. She has social change and social justice on her side. Unfortunately, they may not always be enough.

At least an ‘honorary male’ was seen as a colleague. The modern woman of merit may be seen as a threat, a threat which needs to be overcome. My own career has been long enough for me to have felt the change from being a phenomenon, being ignored by the macho males, to being a statistic to be carefully counted.

Sometimes I think we have come a long way in the last few decades. One of my early career experiences would not be repeated now. With my customary organisation, I had planned that my first baby would arrive at the end of my supposed Ph.D. scholarship period. What I had not allowed for was the fact that the minute I was known to be pregnant, some of the men in my school decided that it would be impossible for me to work on my thesis and my scholarship was suspended. Meanwhile, I kept coming in to work on my thesis. I did stop going to the tea room as my pregnant presence offended them so much. It reached the stage where my doctor called

the Vice-Chancellor, to assure him that since the university was so close to the hospital, my presence was not really a danger to me or to anyone else and as he put it, 'if it's as quick as that, there aren't going to be any complications. You should just call me'.

This baby had been such public property, that I was determined the date of birth should be private. I therefore took a series of cardigans into work and put them in my filing cabinet. I arranged for one of my friends to pop in each morning and change the cardigan hung over the back of my chair. Thus no one knew I was in hospital, had given birth, and had come home. The first anyone knew of the birth was when I walked into the Department carrying the baby. We have come a long way. That scenario would not happen now.

Yet how far we still have to go. DEETYA recently sent me a membership list for a particular committee. Its officers were listed in hierarchical order; this went against the alphabet; they were both men. The two university members were listed in male/female order. He is an Associate Professor, I am a Professor; he is an Acting Pro Vice-Chancellor; I am a Pro Vice-Chancellor; he comes from the end of the alphabet; I come from the beginning. Neither of us comes from a Group of Eight university. The only way he could be listed first in an otherwise hierarchical list was because he was a man.

As I said, women still have a long way to go, and a sense of humour and optimism remain essential companions on the journey.

ETHICS OR LEADERSHIP? THE 90'S DILEMMA

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Abstract

This paper explores the ethical dilemmas of equity management in Australian higher education from 1990-1995. The paper is based on the author's reflection of her past employment as an equity manager. The impact of managerialism on equity strategies is discussed. The role of the equity manager is analysed using Foucault's dynamic conception of power. The paper argues that a clear understanding of managerialism is necessary to conceptualise a way forward in equity practice.

Key Words: Foucault, equity, managerialism

Equity Practice Re-visited

I was employed as an equity manager in higher education in Australia from 1990 - 1995. Now, working as an academic, I have had the opportunity to reflect theoretically on equity management. I have begun to understand managerialism, its dynamic interactions with economic rationalism and reform in higher education; its assumptions, its techniques and its role in colonising the work processes of equity management. I have realised that my struggle with the ethical dilemmas posed by working as an equity practitioner within an organisation was shared by various authors and that an articulated theoretical viewpoint based on humanist values was essential armour for any such endeavour.

Three key issues became important to me in this process of reflection. The first issue, which only became clearer after reading more widely in the area of human service management, was that as a practitioner I had failed to accurately characterise and theorise 'managerialism' and its political agenda for equity groups. I now firmly believe that an accurate and up-to-date theoretical awareness of broader social trends was required to be an effective equity practitioner. Work demanded long hours and the time to engage in the contemporary literature was not readily available. This suggested a need for feminist academics to collaborate with equity managers and femocrats to ensure the accurate characterisation of key social trends. As equity manager, I frequently experienced first hand the new 'managerialist demands', but without a thorough debate and theoretical discussion, devising strategies to either support, supplant or subvert these demands was extremely difficult.

The second issue concerned the use of equity language in higher education and the conceptual construction of equity. I found that often the equal opportunity terminology was vague and definitions of equity were difficult to nail down. Terms referring to equity in higher education changed regularly and were often mistakenly inter-changed. For instance, early terminology talked about equal opportunity, a Fair Chance for All, equal employment opportunity, affirmative action, social justice, access and then later, equity. Partly, the change in

terminology indicated shifts in emphasis. Initially it appeared that providing people with equal opportunity to access education and employment was adequate and removal of barriers was the key equity strategy. Underlying this understanding of equal opportunity was an assumption that if people were all treated the same in terms of access, then individual success or failure was the responsibility of the individual rather than the education system's responsibility. Clearly this concept of equality negated cultural, economic and social differences. This conceptualisation of equal opportunity was more favourably received by senior management than the ones that followed.

When notions of participation and involvement in decision-making by equity groups became a major focus for strategies in higher education, there was a reluctance to comply by senior management. Participation by equity groups had the potential to challenge the current power structures in higher education. Resistance was high and many disputes were had over issues like defining gender balance on committees. For instance, a committee with four or more members was considered gender balanced if it had one woman represented on it. It was even more difficult to raise issues of participation by people of non-English speaking background or other groups, such as people with disabilities and aboriginal people.

The most radical conceptualisation of equity was one that celebrated difference and diversity. This construction stemmed partly from post-colonial and post-modernist thinking. These theories no longer automatically recognised the pre-dominance of one grand theory or one truth. Higher education institutions became a site of multi-vocal and localised spaces where social relations could be constructed and negotiated within a framework that appreciated various yet equally valid worldviews. This conceptualisation of equity developed concurrently with a renewed vigour by management for top-down control.

The resultant culture clash provoked a third issue for me, how to deal with the constant feeling of being co-opted and made ineffective by the power structures in higher education; while being required to 'join' management to influence organisational change. This dilemma was shared by several authors in this area, for instance, Jill Blackmore, 1992, p. 69 who asked:

Is it possible for such women (femocrats, equal opportunity officers or equity managers) to bring about effective change towards a more just society without being co-opted into the very structures and value system that we wish to change?

My resistance to co-option was weakened because the above changes in higher education were under-theorised and the long-term implications of strategies that attempted to expropriate managerialism were not debated widely enough.

Culture Clash

Managerialism placed in its broadest context was a tool for the New Right to achieve its agenda of cost-cutting and 'rolling back of the state' (Jones and May, 1992, p. 886-887). The implication for equity was that efficiency became the more important goal. Many senior managers in higher education believed that equity was too expensive and that equity outcomes were nebulous and unmeasurable. Equity was constructed as competing negatively with necessary efficiency outcomes by management. Managerialism was a tool for achieving

management outcomes and also an ideology that emphasised individual responsibility and self-reliance. This ideology was in sharp contrast to equity arguments which emphasised disadvantaged groups and a moral obligation on the state and its agencies to create an environment that promoted equal opportunities and aimed to ensure elimination of unfair discrimination. The impact of this shift in ideology and technique on equity management was enormous.

Theoretically distinguishing managerialism from management was also important. Traditionally, management's role was to assist an organisation to achieve its stated goals. The role included problem solving and promoted employee involvement. Whereas managerialism was about rational, mechanical and power-based processes that really represented an ideology of control (Vanstone, 1995; Ife, 1997). As Anna Yeatman argued managerialism had its roots in scientific management (1990). Scientific management arose from a conception of organisations as machines and specifically was based on 'time and motion studies' conducted by Frederick Taylor in the 1930's. He advocated that 'there were no inherent conflicts between management and workers, or among other groups in the organisation' (Jones and May, 1992). This idea has had serious implications for marginalised groups in organisations and for industrial relations generally.

The control aspect of managerialism was related to Taylor's sharp division of manager's and worker's roles. Management had

responsibility for planning, organising, supervising and making decisions, and workers, who were viewed essentially as adjuncts to the industrial machinery and as being without knowledge of organisational goals and processes (Jones and May, 1992, p. 38).

The sharp distinction between manager's roles as organising and controlling workers to maximise productivity and workers as 'doers' infiltrated higher education with serious implications for equity and as Lois Bryson (1986) so clearly put it

[m]anagerialism has a very masculine flavour. Its tenets might have been designed to illustrate the classic syndrome of dominant, stereotypically masculine features. It is about structure, order, forceful activity, rationality. It is about hardware. It is about technique. It does not emphasise values or how this climate affects the people who are the subject groups – that is, the public, the clients, and the workers (Bryson, 1986 cited in Blackmore, 1992, p. 74).

Managerialism offered so-called 'value-free' and 'neutral' management tools. Managerialism was also constantly sold as *the* right way to do things. Much in keeping with Taylor's view of work, where a right way to do things could be found, using scientific means. As equity manager, I was partly seduced into the managerialist agenda. As managerialism offered easy answers to very complex conceptual and procedural problems in achieving equity. Managerialism allowed equity to be reduced to a formula approach. The cost of adopting this approach was to silence the human element in organisational power relations, thereby disenfranchising equity and equity groups.

Reducing Equity to Numbers

The formula for operating equity in a managerialist environment required the development of policies and plans. These policies and plans required empirical data which justified devising strategies for disadvantaged groups to increase their access, participation and achievements. Equity groups were defined on the basis of some measurable and defensible deficits. Targets were negotiated for increasing equity outcomes in numerical terms for particular groups, like women, people with disabilities and so on. This approach indicated a top-down, deficit construction of equity, which left intact and unquestioned the privileges experienced by groups in higher education that had access to power and knowledge which enhanced their ability to achieve successful educational or employment outcomes. Although consultation was used to develop the policies and plans, the consultation reinforced the hierarchical structure of the organisation, as members of equity advisory committees were representative of the management structure of the institution.

The constant requirement for empirical data and arguments for increased resources for equity groups was clearly described by Considine (1994, p. 269):

They draw protagonists into continuing research consultations which aim to stabilise value disputes, obtain consensus data concerning problems, hear complaints from affected parties, and consider new arrangements in the light of both scientific and political imperatives:

The search to identify barriers, define and categorise disadvantaged groups, to monitor and evaluate micro-practices like staff selection and promotion, to identify fair and equitable practices and prove equity propositions with irrefutable facts and preferably statistics was an ongoing task. However, there were no facts without values, and the values of inclusion and equitable micro-practice were far from the minds of the management groups and their rationalist techniques. I discerned that without a change in approach and values that equity would not be achievable. The very 'language of corporate management implies a level of rationality and order which is not representative of reality' (Franzway, 1986, p. 78). The strategic plans and policies became unreal to me, because they negated humane concerns in favour of reductionist techniques and moved the debate about equity away from real changes towards cosmetic re-arrangements. For instance, a Dean set very conservative targets for increased female senior lectureships based on his current staffing projections. He clearly provided a target without any real intention of increasing equity outcomes for women. The reductionistic and scientific approach to equity based on numeric outcomes reinforced conservative target setting and reinforced the current power relations in higher education.

Re-Constructing Power Relations

On reviewing equity practice within a managerialist environment, I felt it desirable to rethink power and control from an alternative theoretical perspective. I felt instinctively drawn to Foucault's explorations of power, because he constructed power not as individual social agency but as located in networks of relations that were also the effects of power. Foucault did not locate power in an economic manner, whereas managerialism was utilised as a tool for achieving economic rationalism. Foucault claimed that power was not owned, possessed,

shared or seized. It was not held on to or allowed to slip away. Rather it was exercised, a property of relations, manifest through practices. Power was always present in all relationships.

Power is positive and creative, not just negative or repressive ... Relations of power are always contestable ... Power is ambiguous and plurivocal, a site of conflict and contestation (Townley, 1994, p. 8).

The task of an equity manager was to identify practices that reinforced current power relations, that denied access and full participation in institutions, including decision-making to marginalised groups and to alter these relations in such a way that those currently marginalised would gain credible input.

At the same time, as equity manager, I was not outside the managerialist techniques of power. On the one hand, I was subject to managerialist techniques through control of the form of my work processes, such as policies and plans, and through the hierarchical structural imperatives and accountabilities to my supervisor, who was a very senior manager within the organisation. These accountabilities included my individual performance and organisational credibility. On the other hand by utilising managerialist techniques, I in turn became a tool of power, essentially imposing a construction of equity which was not desirable from a humanist perspective, as a concern for people's circumstances and humanity was missing from the managerialist agenda.

Conclusion

The resultant sense of co-option and compromise was a trigger for me to leave equity management in higher education. I felt ethically constricted and constrained without fully understanding my response to this experience. The opportunity to write about and reflect on those five years of equity management has been very useful. I have learnt to trust my instincts because there was good reason to feel ethically compromised, as managerialist techniques and equity were incompatible, in terms of values, conceptualisations, procedures and practices. I discovered that others like Yeatman, Jones and May, and Eisenstein, shared my concern with managerialism and its implications for human services, higher education and equity. I realised that I required a thorough understanding of managerialism to critique its lack of humanism. The way forward in equity seemed to require a local approach that promoted marginalised groups of people acting on their own needs and perspectives, rather than a top-down managerialist approach.

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REFLECTIVE LEADERSHIP IN THE ARTS: A PERSONAL JOURNEY

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Abstract

The exercise of leadership in the microcosm of arts practice is best characterised as a process of apparently pragmatic negotiation, often under considerable pressure and covering a staggering range of issues. One strives to ensure that leadership is grounded in a clear philosophical and ethical base but the struggle to define appropriate modes of leadership in the arts, particularly leadership by women is, in part at least, a question of how we describe what we do.

This paper follows a journey – a journey that is essentially the search for an appropriate paradigm for leadership. A paradigm which foregrounds process as readily as performance outcomes; a paradigm that leaves space for nurturing practitioners as well as generating quantitative profiles; a paradigm that is transparent. Most importantly it is a search for a paradigm grounded in creative practice.

Key Words: creative, leadership, women, metaphor.

To walk out into the world is to set the mind adrift. Musicians speak of this movement as a tonal journey out from the home key. Sometimes there is no going back. There are alien harmonies. One thing shades into another. Nouns are metamorphosed into verbs. We see ourselves differently, as through a glass darkly. We experience our own past as if it were a previous incarnation. We are visited by strange dreams. We imagine other lives – a road not taken, a rendezvous missed, a letter not answered, a stone left unturned. There is a suspicion that we have been thrown into this life by a quirk of fate, that our true destiny will come later or elsewhere, with someone else, under other circumstances. We wait, harbouring these unspoken thoughts, lost in a dark labyrinth of vain conjecture and second guessing, asking ourselves over and over what would have happened had we gone down another road, if we had, to borrow Robert Frost's compelling line, taken the road less traveled by. These penumbral domains, lying outside the settled area of the self, are our point of departure for understanding others (Jackson, 1994, p. 1).

A Quirk of Fate or True Destiny?

Looking back, revisiting the road travelled, I can't help but think I should feel more comfortable, more confident in the creative leadership roles I have assumed in the past decade. In another life, as a young woman I now barely recognise, I was after all high school captain, house captain, leader of the debating, tennis and squash teams, and founder of the school's student council. My profile, framed by beribboned (regulation school colours, of course) pigtails, littered the school magazine in my final year, 1968 ...

Having completed an arduous period of fieldwork in a village in Sri Lanka, obtained a doctorate in Anthropology, borne two children and produced half a dozen documentary films, why was I surprised when a female colleague handed me a lapel badge that read 'Some Leaders Are Born Women'? Was it because I was working in a creative organisation under a patriarchal gaze that was daily, systematically, wearing away my confidence and self esteem? Or was it because I was finding it difficult to define leadership in that environment? Was it because my definition of self had become a complex mix of ill fitting fragments – part academic, part creative artist, part bureaucrat, part lover, part mother, part daughter? If this was leadership in the 1990s it was fraught, fragile, female ... but also I hoped, in fact I clung to the notion, that this was creative leadership.

I sought affirmation. A Creative Leadership course confirmed that my journey was not a lone excursion. It was instructive to be taken down the road travelled by Dr Roger Sperry exploring left brain, right brain, and whole brain (Chater and Gaster, 1995, p. 88-108); to be categorised by yet another personality profile; soothed by new age music; and amused by the creative outlet offered by the multi-coloured plasticine available on each participant's desk. But it was more useful to be forced into a seriously reflective mode – to question, to continue to experience discomfort, to be aware of a lack of fit. For, inevitably, whilst there were aspects of the proffered leadership paradigm I found attractive (undoubtedly those that reaffirmed my own best practice), the context was alien. As a woman, a 'difficult' woman, I found it impossible to embrace the dominant paradigm in which much of the discourse was situated.

In this case the central metaphor employed by the course facilitator was that of the hunter/gatherer mode of production. Some fellow travellers found this metaphor evocative of contemporary leadership practice characterised by flexibility, adaptability, risk taking. I found myself dwelling on the female gatherer rather than the male hunter; the provider of daily sustenance rather than the occasional ritual feast; the negotiator of societal well-being rather than defender of the group's territory; the nurturer of the young and the infirm rather than the mentor for keen young warriors. I resented the bifurcation encouraged by the model. I certainly did not limit my definition of self to such traditional female roles but I felt compelled to develop an oppositional viewpoint rather than accept a model that I did not, could not, share. I was compelled to create a non-standard meaning (Hintikka and Sandu, 1994, p. 151-154).

Alien Harmonies

Even a cursory survey of the literature indicates that the hunter/gatherer metaphor sits comfortably within the range of contemporary leadership paradigms. Whilst the ubiquitous organisational metaphors of the pyramid, the sports team, the military, the machine and the organism have been moulded and adapted to fit changing contexts, such metaphorical constructs remain central to the discussion of organisational leadership. Instead of being discarded such metaphors have 'changed their analogical clothing' (Leary, 1990, p. 15).

For example, it is recognised that the traditional metaphor for organisational structure, the pyramid, is of little value when modelling network organisations. Yet the currently popular sphere (Miles & Snow; 1995, p. 4-18), the web (Helgasen, 1990, p. 39), the jungle gym (Gunz, 1990, p. 17-24), and even the house (Pearce & Osmond, 1996, p. 23-35) emphasising

interconnections and free flow of information draw on comparable geometric and architectural models.

In the 1990s rather than focussing on teamwork, the metaphor of the sports team finds a new dynamic epitomised by championship basketball, a team sport in which constant movement ensures that multi-skilling is accorded due weight as roles and responsibilities change at a breathtaking pace (Daniels, 1996, pp. 36-48). The leader as coach, caretaker and catalyst rather than leader/hero also finds new relevance (Armentrout, 1995, p. 3).

Similarly the strictly hierarchical military model has been subsumed by outdoor experiential training intended to involve and empower the participants (Thompson, 1991, p. 46-52). Even the ubiquitous abseiling exercises find a parallel with the mobile – a hierarchy of delicately balanced components (Duck, 1993, p. 109-118).

The unpredictability of the marketplace has rendered the metaphor of the machine obsolete (Marsick and Cederholm, 1988, p. 3-11) whilst that of the clearly defined, functionally specific organism has been reinterpreted to emphasise flexibility in keeping with the need to model complex organisations with ill-defined boundaries (Garud and Kotha, 1994, p. 671-698; Burdett, 1993, p. 14-18). Authors also shift from a biological to a mathematical model through exploration of the relevance of chaos theory (Winsor, 1995, p. 181-189; van de Vliet, 1994, p. 62-65; Dreachslin *et al.*, 1994, p. 16-23).

The essence of such metaphorical constructs is that, if effective, our understanding of organisational leadership is extended. Though the use of metaphor was once considered relatively rare and somewhat inappropriate in the sciences, recent scholarship has strongly emphasised the prominent role that metaphors and analogies have played in scientific creativity (McReynolds, 1990, p. 135-138; Sanders & Sanders, 1984, p. 17-46). Increasingly metaphor is regarded not only as a form of speech, but a form of thought, having basic epistemological functions. Metaphorical thinking and language helps to constitute, not merely reflect, theory and practice. When any aspect of our experience strikes us as worth understanding we begin to search for similar instances. Only when we have found an apt descriptor for this aspect of our experience do we feel the subjective satisfaction that brings our search to an end (Leary, 1990, p. 1-7).

On my leadership journey the metaphors associated with organisational leadership have as often struck me as clever as they have productive. I do not readily connect, either emotionally or intellectually, with models drawn from science, from architecture, from military organisation nor from sport. These constructs have not provided an adequate descriptor, a comfortable starting point, the home key.

A Tonal Journey From The Home Key

In a reflective mode fuelled by disconnection I turn to my own creative practice as a filmmaker to find a model through which to articulate my leadership role. Within the documentary film arena I was not unfamiliar with the need to balance the power of the filmmaker (controller of the means of production) with empowerment of the subject. In this role I thought of myself as a facilitator. Long periods of patient, low-key observation; a committed, unhurried approach; the

willingness to listen, learn and be told; careful analysis, regular consultation and humility were hallmarks of the relationship I strove for between filmmaker and subject (Bell, 1990, p. 35-37). I sought to provide an avenue for (cross-cultural) communication. With experience of motherhood and childbirth an important part of my fragmented self I was attracted to the metaphor of the midwife to illuminate my role as a filmmaker. I was bemused as I came across a description of the midwife credited to Aristotle.

Of middle age, neither too young nor too old and of good habit and body. Not subject to disease, fears or sudden fright. A lady's hand, a hawk's eye and a lion's heart. Sober and affable, not subject to passion, bountiful and compassionate and her temper cheerful and pleasant (Sweet, 1982, p. 3).

I found myself strangely comfortable with Sweet's elaboration of the qualities of the midwife:

She must be a woman of the highest integrity, balanced in her judgement, skilled in her practice and able to communicate with every type of patient. There will be patients who are afraid, patients who feel guilty and others who feel ashamed; some who do not understand our language and culture just as we do not understand theirs; patients who are inarticulate and who find it difficult to ask questions or to express their problems (Sweet, 1982, p. 13).

I conjured an image of the ideal midwife as someone who brings expert knowledge, understanding and experience to her client. She should be adaptable yet firm. Her role is to ensure that the process (of childbirth) is rewarding for all involved. Whilst seeking a positive outcome (a safe birth) she does not allow the emphasis on outcomes to overshadow the importance of process, of sensitive negotiation and mediation. Moreover, her very existence, the perpetuation of her professional role is subversive. In our society she is often regarded as a threat to medical specialists – the establishment – a 'difficult' woman. It was a small and unproblematic step to extend this metaphor to my leadership within a creative organisation. For me this metaphor was a comfort zone; a metaphor with strong emotional links to my own life experience; a metaphor through which I could idealise my professional role; and, like many women before me, a metaphor which enabled me to avoid the thorny issues of conflict and power – a home key (Colwill, 1995, p. 47-58).

Inevitably, satisfaction with the concept of midwife was relatively short lived. I matured. As my daily existence was rendered more complex by the demands and tensions generated by two adolescent sons, childbirth became an experience remembered 'through a glass darkly'. I also became increasingly aware of dimensions of leadership that were not readily accommodated by the midwife metaphor. For the midwife is essentially a service provider in a known (relatively closed) environment. Her journeying, and that of her clients, is shaped by physical (biological) processes. In this metaphor is there adequate room for vision, for provision of inspiration, for negotiation of large numbers of complex relationships with individuals and groups on different journeys, for the accommodation of complex political tensions, for creativity?

As I moved into more senior leadership roles, requiring me to take responsibility for increasingly difficult decisions, I also became aware that not all my colleagues regarded me as bountiful, compassionate, cheerful and pleasant, despite the fact that my preferred view of self remained accommodating, benign and grounded in humility.

I pondered the usefulness of the midwife metaphor and also became increasingly aware of the pervasive, if often subtle, consequences of gender imbalance in my professional environment. I reluctantly concluded that my senior male colleagues were just as unlikely to connect with my 'leader as midwife' as I was with their leader 'as coach of the footy team'.

To Set The Mind Adrift

The orchestra was the Sydney Symphony. The conductor was Takuo Yuasa. The day had been difficult. As the players tuned their instruments my mind was still racing with the day's business. The conductor mounted the podium and guided, indeed inspired, the orchestra to achieve his vision, his interpretation of the complexities of great composition. As I observed his sensitivity to each member of the orchestra, each playing a different, yet intimately integrated role, I was struck by how attractive the image of conductor is as a metaphor for leadership in a large and complex creative organisation.

Of course to stand in front of an orchestra and beat time does not make one a conductor.

To bring forth thrilling music from a group of singers or players, to inspire them (through one's own personal magnetism) to excel, to train them (through one's own musicianship) to become musicians themselves, personally to feel the power of music so deeply that the audience is lifted to new heights emotionally – or gently persuaded through music to forget momentarily the dust of the earth and to spend a little time in another world – yes, *this* can be called conducting (Green, 1987, p. 1).

The conductor, like the creative leader should constantly carry in her mind a musical sound, the big picture, together with the knowledge of how and what of this big picture to communicate:

A conductor does not 'conduct' every note of the score page, even though he (sic) must know every note. Learning what to conduct is a process of continuous growth. Gradually the score will tell him (sic), beforehand, that this or that is going to cause trouble (Green, 1987, p. 2).

Just as the creative leader should strive to maximise productive time with his/her colleagues, the orchestral conductor is aware that there is never enough rehearsal time – it is a most precious commodity and should not be wasted through lack of preparation and planning. The conductor should have thought through what is to be accomplished and then should proceed to do it 'confidently and enthusiastically'. A 'pleasing personality' is also a great help. (Green, 1987, p. 2). The conductor, like the creative leader, must have an intimate knowledge of her personnel, be able to recognise their strengths and weaknesses and encourage, nurture and refrain – keep 'under control dynamically' as necessary.

As the conductor works with his (sic) own organisation he (sic) will come to know his (sic) players individually as musicians. He (sic) will find that this one needs to be reminded (by the conductor's gestures) of certain things that transpired during the rehearsal; that that one must be kept under control dynamically...All of this knowledge comes with experience (Green, 1987, p. 3).

The orchestral conductor, like the creative leader must be adaptable, yet totally engaged – mindful of her role, of her ultimate purpose and her vision.

Above all else every conductor must remember that he (sic) is there for the purpose of making music. He (sic) makes this music through the medium of his (sic) ensemble, the human beings in it. He (sic) himself must be inspired by the music; but he (sic) must also be able to translate that inspiration into readable signs for the musicians in front of him (sic) (Green, 1987, p. 3).

We Are Visited By Strange Dreams

Lately I have experienced a recurrent dream. I am (in?) a large aircraft. The aircraft is taxiing to take off. There is however no airport, no tarmac. This takeoff is on a road – a busy, sometimes chaotic road, choked with traffic. Overhead are high tension wires. The surrounding landscape is often mountainous and threatening. The aircraft advances slowly. The takeoff is impossible. Flight is aborted. A road not taken.

As I reflect on my newly adopted metaphor for creative leadership, I am again frustrated and questioning. Orchestral conductors are a privileged elite, but then so are senior arts administrators. This is a creative role dominated by men...so too is arts administration. The orchestral conductor at her most shallow is little more than a actor – the strength of her leadership dependent upon performance as much as knowledge and substance. This is certainly valid of the audience's and often critics' perception and evaluation.

Perhaps 'creative leader as orchestral conductor' does lie 'outside the settled area of the self'. As such it is another 'point of departure' rather than the conclusion of the journey...perhaps a movement towards resolution – the point of takeoff. For creative leadership and creative change do require openness to unproven possibilities, new patterns, new ways of conceptualising, new ways of coming to terms with a still fragmented self:

What unlike things must meet and mate:
A flame to melt – a wind to freeze;
Sad patience – joyous energies;
Humility – yet pride and scorn;
Instinct and study; love and hate;
Audacity – reverence. They must mate,
and fuse with Jacob's mystic heart,
To wrestle with the Angel – Art (Melville, 1963, p. 270).

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DIVERSITY AND DIFFERENTIATION: GENDER IN MANAGEMENT—TWO SIDES OF THE ONE COIN

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Abstract

Gender, as a political issue in global workforce diversity, particularly at the management level, has implications simultaneously for Australian gender-differentiated management hierarchies, and also for women in the developing market economies of South East Asian countries.

A collaborative project with the International Women's Development Agency, to investigate successful women managers in a variety of organizations in northern Vietnam provided the basis for an analysis of the relationship between postmodernity, gender theory and organizational design as a process of de-differentiation, (especially in the global context) and the implications that this has for both, Vietnamese women in a developing market economy, and for women in the Australian management culture.

Results from the project suggested that gender sensitive policies would facilitate management's ability to handle diversity and change within a global economy and help guarantee fair access for women to resources and leadership positions.

If EEO and Affirmative Action provisions have not overcome the structural problems for minority groups in organizations, where do we turn for a solution? Still (1994, p. 63) emphasizes that 'to effectively improve the position of women [and other minorities], it seems that change will have to occur at the organisational cultural level.' Women, and indeed many men, would be able to function more effectively in a work environment that embraces diversity, rather than differentiation.

Key Words: Management, Women, Global, Economy, Diversity.

Introduction

The popular press has suddenly become aware of the statistics that point to women being the 'business opportunists of the 90 s' (*Age*, 4 November 1996). This article claimed 'that men are in for a shock. Women do it better... Firms run by women are twice as profitable and are growing twice as fast... A survey of 22,000 French firms has found that when it comes to running a company women make far more successful managing directors than their male counterparts... Women are seeing the gaps in the market and are more ready than ever to chase up chances provided by the changing world of work.' According to the International Labour Organisation, Australia has the lowest percentage of women in corporate management in the industrialised world. Is there a message here? Are women disaffected with the world of corporate management? Could it be that the problem lies not with women, but with the corporate environment itself?

In this paper I intend making an affirmative response to these questions. I think the time has come to treat women's role in management and leadership as a positive contribution to business outcomes.

This discussion is the result of a research project completed in Vietnam in collaboration with the International Women's Development Agency. It involved investigation of the skills and strategies employed by a sample of successful women managers in Hanoi and comparison of these with current 'best' management practice in Western business culture.

The question of approaches to women in management is one fraught with the legacy of differentiation and deficit; of women trying to be like men; of women failing to reach top management positions because they are not men; of women battling gendered work environments and an alienating narrow definition of what it is to be a leader. However, according to Sally Helgesen, 'women can transform the workplace by expressing, not by giving up, their personal values' (1990, p. xix). Women, and indeed many men, would be able to function more effectively in a work environment that embraces diversity rather than differentiation. An environment that accommodates many equally valid, yet different ways of managing, that values complementarity (assumed differences), not equity or differentiation (assumed similarities) in its approaches to management. To meet the needs of a rapidly changing world, it is necessary to be open to a diversity of ways of managing; not to be limited to gender-differentiated approaches to management based on hidden cultural assumptions.

As common beliefs about acceptable management behaviour have traditionally been based on stereotypical attitudes about the roles of men and women, an understanding of the nature of the relationship between gender and sexuality, especially within the context of organization theory, is needed. Eva Cox in her recent book *Leading Women: Tactics for Making the Difference* (1996) says "the practices of masculinity are not just a part of the ruling elite, but are built into the culture of organisations." It is therefore imperative to develop a perspective on gender and organizations that emphasizes gender relations as an embedded property of organizations, not gender differences as dichotomous sets of attributes or distinctive orientations that are simply brought to organizations. Once the biases of a 'gender neutral' environment have been exposed, the 'one best way to manage' may be questioned and women's contribution based on diversity, not equity, valued. A 'complementary contribution approach' to women in management that recognizes, values, and combines male and female workers' unique contributions is expressed by Nancy Adler in a model (Adler, 1993, p. 25). I will be using this model later to analyse data from the interviews with the sample of Vietnamese women managers.

Table 1: Two Approaches to Women in Management

Assumptions	Equity Approach	Complementary contribution approach
<p>Fundamental assumptions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Men's and women's contributions: • Fairness based on: <p>Strategic goal</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assessment: • Measured by: <p>Process:</p> <p>Measurement of effectiveness</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women's contribution: • Norms: • Based on: • Referant: <p>Acculturation process</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expected behavior: • Based on: • Essence: <p>Example</p>	<p>Similarity</p> <p>Identical</p> <p>Equity</p> <p>Equal access</p> <p>Quantitative</p> <p>Statistical proportion of women at each hierarchical level</p> <p>Counting women</p> <p>Identical to men's</p> <p>Identical for men and women</p> <p>Historical 'male' norms</p> <p>Men</p> <p>Assimilation</p> <p>Standardized</p> <p>Male norms</p> <p>'Dress for success' business suit</p> <p>United States: 'The melting Pot'</p>	<p>Difference</p> <p>Complementary</p> <p>Valuing difference</p> <p>Recognizing and valuing Difference</p> <p>Qualitative</p> <p>Assessing women's Contribution to Organization's goals</p> <p>Assessing women's contribution</p> <p>Complementary to men's</p> <p>Unique to men and women</p> <p>Women's own contribution</p> <p>Women</p> <p>Synergy</p> <p>Differentiated</p> <p>Female norms</p> <p>Elegant, feminine attire</p> <p>France: 'Vive la différence!'</p>

Source: Adler, N (1986-87) in *Competitive Frontiers: Women Managers in a Global Economy*, 1993

During a trip to Vietnam in 1995 I had observed many entrepreneurial woman managers successfully meeting the challenges of a developing market economy. I was curious to find out how successful women managers in northern Vietnam had come to be in the positions that they were in; what skills and strategies they used to manage their work and family commitments; how they balanced their private and public roles; and the supports, if any, provided by their employers, and how they balanced the tensions of the dual approaches to management that are gradually developing, especially in the transnational and multinational organisations. In other words, how they, as women, constructed managers' roles. The resulting information would be used to identify the impact of women's ways of managing as a positive contribution to business success. This in turn would be one way to support the need for gender sensitive policies to help guarantee fair access for women to resources and leadership positions in the developing market economies within northern Vietnam.

In the future, the gendering of organizations as one example of differentiation will not necessarily continue to be productive for any organization that seeks to realise the totality of available economic action in a global context. In this climate women's promotion to senior management would be seen strictly as a business issue, as a competitive advantage, not as a legislated necessity.

Theoretical Framework

If EEO and Affirmative Action provisions have not overcome the structural problems for women in organisations, where do we turn for a solution? Leonie Still in an excellent article entitled, 'Women in Management Revisited' suggests, 'that change has seldom reached the deep structural levels that underpin organizational cultures. The male domination of cultures therefore goes largely unrecognized by organizational members and in mainstream organizational theory' (1994, p. 63). She emphasizes that 'to effectively improve the position of women, then, it seems that change will have to occur at the organizational cultural level ... that progress will only be made by tackling the cultural aspects' (1994, p. 63).

It is with this in mind, that I propose to establish a model that connects Nancy Adler's 'Approaches to Women in Management', Table 1, to management structures, gender theory and cultural discourse. Table 2 provides a visual representation of the interconnection of these discourses.

Table 2: Management Structures

Approaches to Women in Management(Adler Model)	Equity	Complementary Contribution Approach
Management Structures	Differentiation	Diversity
Gender Discourse	Liberal, radical socialist feminism	Poststructural feminism
Cultural Discourse	Modernism (Liberal Humanism)	Postmodernism

Although it is gender discourse that I have included in the model, it is feminist theory as a political tool that I will be using to analyse the situation of women in management. Poststructuralist feminist theory challenges the unitary notion of a 'one best way to manage', of a unitary view of women's experience, and of the closed system of hierarchical binary oppositions that defines gender. It suggests that power in gender relations does not stem primarily from the binary oppositions of heterosexual relations, but from the production of that very binary frame based on religious, cultural and social institutions and systems for thinking about sex and gender. Gender, institutionalized through networks of social and cultural structures to the biological system is used by organizations to presume difference, and on the basis of this difference, to assign men and women differentiated roles.

If we return to Table 1, we can equate many of the elements in an 'equity approach to women in management', with the hegemonic system. The concept of similarity for women as a group, the negation of any unique identity or contribution by women, the presumptions of male norms for expected behaviours and perceptions of success, and the need for women to assimilate, all point to a liberal humanist tradition. 'Women in Management' research has focused on equity and equality, of women being as capable as men.

In an article entitled, 'Making Differences Matter: A New Paradigm for Managing Diversity' by David Thomas and Robert Ely, the recent *Harvard Business Review*, September-October 1996, attempts an explanation for the failure of current management of workforce diversity. The authors point out that, 'the desired transformation requires a fundamental change in the attitudes and behaviour of an organization's leadership. And that will only come when senior managers abandon an underlying and flawed assumption about diversity and replace it with a broader understanding' (Thomas and Ely, 1996, p. 80).

What is this 'broader understanding'? And how will it be effected in the workplace?

Direct parallels may be drawn between Adler's 'equity approach to women in management' (Table 1) and the first two paradigms developed by Thomas and Ely; the 'discrimination and fairness paradigm' and the 'access and legitimacy paradigm'. An emphasis on recruitment, representation and retention of a diversified work force, an attitude of 'we are all the same, [and/or] we aspire to being all the same' means that staff get 'diversified, but the work doesn't, [that is] the diversification of the work force [does not] influence the organization's work or culture' (Thomas and Ely, 1996, p. 80). In the 'access and legitimacy paradigm', a different form of differentiation occurs. Here the actual differences are exploited for competitive advantage in the marketplace by 'push[ing] staff with niche capabilities into differentiated pigeonholes without trying to understand what those capabilities really are and how they could be integrated into the company's mainstream work' (Thomas and Ely, 1996, p. 83). However, a third paradigm, 'connecting diversity to work perspectives', that has many attributes in common with Adler's 'complementary contribution approach to women in management' is seen as the way forward for successful management of diversity in the workforce (Thomas and Ely, 1996, p. 85). 'With this model fully in place, members of the organization can say, we are all on the same team, with our differences – not despite them' (Thomas and Ely, 1996, p. 86).

In her book *Competitive Frontiers Women: Managers in a Global Economy*, Nancy Adler has expressed the dilemma faced when approaching diversity in relation to gender.

Interestingly, each approach (equity and complementarity) has tended to be labeled as heresy when viewed through the eyes of the other. From the perspective of the equity approach, viewing women (or any other distinct group) as different has been seen as tantamount to judging them as inferior (see Calvert and Ramsey, 1992). Recognition of difference has implicitly been equated with prejudice (Adler, 1991). From this point of view, there is one best way to manage, and equity demands that women be given equal access to that one way. By contrast, the complementary contribution approach posits that there are many equally valid, yet different ways to manage. The best approach, based on recognizing, valuing, and combining differences, is synergistic. From this perspective, not to see a female manager's uniqueness is to negate her identity and, consequently, to negate the potential for her unique contribution to the organization (Adler, 1993, p. 26).

But are we courting the old essentialisms of liberal feminism in a complementary approach to 'women in management'?

Or can we deconstruct the binary oppositions of gender, as postmodernism deconstructs modernism, by opening its closed systems to diversity and change?

Women's ability to act as socially situated agents is crucial to their drive for power, leadership and equality, and this is only possible if the structures that label women as a differentiated group are exposed. I believe that this can only be achieved if the concept of 'difference' in gender discourse is changed; if differentiation along gender lines is understood in relation to the social and cultural discourses of a rapidly changing and fragmenting world.

In an article entitled 'The End of Innocence' Jane Flax explains, that in the name of postmodernism, 'the modern Western sense of self-certainty has been undermined by political and intellectual events' and the ultimate truths that provided the basis of liberal humanism (reason, history, science, knowledge, power, gender, the self) have all been subjected to increasingly destructive attacks (Flax, 1988, p. 450). Challenges to political and cultural colonialism, anti-racist struggles, the rise of nationalist movements in the Third World and the disunified Eastern Bloc, and the Women's and Green Movements have weakened Western political and cultural hegemony and the philosophical and ethical values underpinning its power.

Postmodernism and feminism both challenge the nature and status of the liberal humanist individual, but in differing ways. Postmodernism deconstructs the subject, while feminism uses multiple subject construction to develop agency for women. Women who are professionals, mothers, wives and citizens must be recognized as autonomous agents in which ever systems of signification they engage, not simply given the singular identity of being a 'woman'.

At this stage we need to ask: what is a postmodern approach that can allow women the opportunity to function in management without the essentialising labels of gender definition?

Nancy Fraser has developed a model in which language, and its representation of reality, is focused on discourses within society, not fixed structures. The model sees 'speaking subjects, not simply as effects of structures and systems, but rather as socially situated agents' and these

agents because they operate within multiple discourses have a 'plurality of communicative sites from which to speak' (Fraser, 1992, p. 185). Identity is thus seen as fluid and changing, not monolithic. Finally, Fraser's model 'links the study of discourses to the study of society' to allow intervention by active agents into 'the self-reproducing symbol system' resulting in a focus on the relationships between 'power and equality' (p. 186).

A French feminist, Luce Irigaray, in seeking women's sexual autonomy emphasizes the specificity of female experience. Elizabeth Grosz explains Irigaray's position in relation to a politics of sexual difference:

This speculative mirror, in which his (the masculine) world, his experiences, his position(s) are projected onto the other must be traversed in order to clear a space for women's self-representations, for women to become the subjects looking (Grosz, 1989, p. 130).

I believe that in some ways the successful women employing a 'complementary contribution approach to management (Adler 1993, p. 25) and the organizations that support this management of diversity have 'traversed this speculative mirror' by passing through the phases of the 'equity approach' including the 'discrimination paradigm' and maybe even the 'access paradigm' to currently employ the 'connecting work to diversity perspectives paradigm' (Thomas and Ely, 1996, p. 85) that is beginning to realize the full potential of a diverse work force. Women acting as autonomous, socially situated agents, moving freely between discourses, will now have the power and equality to make unique contributions that will enable companies, taking a synergistic approach, to make the most of their diversity.

Vietnam Project: Analysis of Data

Taking an analytical response approach, the data obtained from the interviews of Vietnamese women managers was used to explore the complex contours and tensions within the Adler model. This model suggests that one of two fundamentally different assumptions about the ideal role of women in management is generally made. Table 1 outlined a comparison of these two approaches; the equity approach based on assumed similarity and the complementary contribution approach based on assumed difference. The equity approach being quantitative, focused primarily on representation; the complementary contribution approach, qualitative and focused on process (Adler, 1987).

The interview questions were clustered around the assumptions that Nancy Adler has used to develop her model. Referring to Table 1, these assumptions were based on the following groupings:

- fundamental assumptions, similarity and difference;
- strategic goals for the organization, equal access or recognizing difference;
- measurement and rewards for effectiveness, identical or complementary;
- the acculturation process adopted by the organization, assimilation or synergy (Adler, 1987).

Fundamental Assumptions

Ten questions addressed these in various ways. For example: Do you feel excluded from the informal interactions leading to executive positions? Do outsiders see you on an equal footing with the men in your organisation?

The women managers interviewed all had one unifying attribute; they did not believe that women had to be like men to be good managers. They not only believed in 'feminine ways' of dealing with management issues, but were prepared within the parameters of their organisation to try to put them into practice. Tensions arose in walking the fine line between accommodating the equity based organisational practices and their belief in themselves and their personal ways of managing. The women in their own companies or in senior positions in educational institutions found it easier than those in large multinational companies or in state enterprises that were still closely monitored by government ministries.

I felt that this strong emphasis on women's autonomy was an enormous breakthrough, because one of the main agents of reinforcement for the established mainstream views on gender, has been women. This has far-reaching and positive implications for both men and women in counteracting the constrictive gender stereotypes in the wider community; in moving from an equity model, similarity to and assimilation in the dominant male culture, to a complementary model, valuing difference, unique contributions and creating a synergy that focuses on the problem to be solved.

In relation to Nancy Adler's model, it is also interesting to consider, especially in America, the position of Affirmative Action in the political arena at the present time. Although I would deplore the dismantling of a system that legally protects the disadvantaged and attempts to produce a level playing field in relation to employment opportunity, I do believe that Affirmative Action belongs to the equity model and has reinforced a 'one best way to manage', a patriarchal way and the concomitant binary hierarchical structure for gender.

Strategic Goals for the Organisation

Six questions addressed attitudes to access and representation. For example; does your organisation have a quota for the number of women managers to be appointed? At what levels in your organisation are women managers evident in equal or greater numbers than men? Responses to the former were mixed, but agreement that women managers were concentrated in the lower levels of management was unanimous. Most organisations appeared to be supporting an equity approach; a quantitative, statistical accounting of the overall proportion of female managers in the organisation. As this approach to access and representation takes no account of difference or unique contribution, it assumes an assimilationist policy for women. As Nancy Adler says, 'the potential for women to make unique, but equally valuable contributions to organisations remained outside the logic of the equity approach and therefore largely unrealised' (Adler, 1987, p. 25). Women running their own businesses, although not constrained in this way, were aware of these attitudes and sought to avoid them.

Measurement and Rewards for Effectiveness

Organisations employing an equity approach 'measured effectiveness against male norms' (Adler, 1993, p. 24), but again these women managers were able to gain recognition for doing things their own way. Success was often measured internally at a personal level. The majority of responses emphasized the attributes of personal ability and working hard in answer to the question; do you believe that your success as a manager is primarily a result of: working hard, personal ability, positive circumstances and/or successful contributions by subordinates? Other responses indicated an emphasis on interpersonal values to such questions as; do you feel that you are adequately rewarded for the job that you perform? Job satisfaction and enjoyment, a good reputation with clients, appreciation from students and personal contacts were given precedence over organizational stature and monetary reward. Although the latter was not seen as unimportant.

Another fine line taken by the women managers interviewed was their management of power. Although most advocated a dissemination of responsibility and power, they were all prepared to accept that ultimately the hard decisions were theirs, so that at times they had to be the boss and to make staff aware of this. But they did not see power as something that they could award and withdraw from subordinates. They saw that they could use it to facilitate management, either directly, or in different circumstances it could be disseminated or shared to facilitate effective business practice.

Acculturation Process, Expected Behaviours and Ways of Managing

Another generally held view was that there is not 'one best way of managing'. There was agreement from the respondents that strategies used should be adapted to the particular situation or problem. This proved to be an important element in the women managers' ability to cope with rapid change, to be innovative and to be successful in convincing others to follow their decisions. Successful management of people was seen to be a primary ingredient in their success. A sample of the ten questions clustered around 'the expected ways of managing' included; how do you feel most comfortable working with subordinates? What is your relationship with your employees? Does your organisation have preferred ways to manage? Do you as a leader within your organisation: create new ideas, support the existing organisational environment, implement new visions and ideas, respond to change quickly and effectively? The emphasis on being a co-worker, developing a collaborative management style based on mutual respect and sharing was strongest amongst managers in educational institutions. However, even the respondent who emphasized the importance of being the boss in a supervisory and mentoring capacity, a manager who ran her own furniture business; organizing the retailing, marketing and manufacture from the local village to the client, stressed the importance of being seen as human, catering for individual differences and developing an inclusive work environment.

Conclusion

All this adds up to the women interviewed using approaches to management that could be considered 'transformational' as opposed to 'transactional'. Judy Rosener in her 1990 article 'Ways Women Lead', describes transformational leadership as 'motivating others by transforming their individual self-interest into the goals of the group... by encouraging participation, sharing power and information and enhancing people's self-worth.' Rosener found that: 'In describing nearly every aspect of management, women made reference to trying to make people feel part of the organisation from setting performance goals to determining strategy' (Rosener, 1990, p. 120).

My experience with the small sample of Vietnamese women managers supports this view, and if the research and literature confirms transformational leadership as most meaningful in today's complex and diverse world, these women managers are successful because they are employing management techniques that are eminently suited to the rapidly changing business environments of today. It then only behoves organizations to implement change in their work environments to include and capitalize on these successful management strategies.

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ETHICS IN MENTORING IN HIGHER EDUCATION: THE DOWNSIDE TO HELPING OTHERS

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Abstract

In mentoring relationships in higher education, especially in times of significant organisational change, the professional tutoring arrangement between two colleagues can sometimes sour. Since the association usually requires a personal commitment, there are risks involved - for both the mentor and the mentee. The notions of intent and consequences as well as of goodwill, a duty not to deceive and respect for one another, inherent in sound ethical conduct, can sometimes become distorted. For the mentee, use by the mentor of original work without permission, writing damaging references, and withholding recognition of outstanding work, have been documented. Equally, the mentee's abuse of personal disclosures for their own end, the offering of sexual favours for a malign intent, and the severing of the relationship amid acrimony after accepting help, are unbecoming of the spirit of the collegial association. To guard against these improprieties, a mentoring code of behaviour should be implemented.

Key Words: code conduct standards duty behaviour

Introduction

In an ideal academic world of ivy-covered walls, all colleagues would be ethical, what is moral would be obvious, and ethical behavior (sic) would always prevail. However, although modern universities and colleges are often vibrant and challenging places to work, members of academia are pressured... (Universities) are far from a tranquil ideal where the aggregated behavior (sic) of individual monastic scholars results in unambiguously ethical outcomes. (Whicker & Kronenfeld, 1994, p. 3).

The closing years of the twentieth century in Australian higher education is characterised by change and the convergence of a number of influences that are serving to reshape the face of universities. The rapid corporatisation, internationalisation, sweeping technological advances and a major downsizing resulting from the new federal government's fiscal policies, all have had dramatic and sometimes traumatic effects on staff. We are in turbulent times. For many, the issue of job security is rapidly being replaced with more urgent concerns for counseling for career transition and outplacement. Increasingly, the need for the support of a mentor as coach, adviser, sponsor and critical friend, is pressing.

In the last five years, supportive mentoring programs have flourished in universities and the literature on the subject has grown. But mentoring doesn't always result in a positive outcome for the two parties involved. With the pressure growing and the competition for personal survival heightening, concerns about integrity, trust and simply knowing who our friends are, is

becoming paramount. There can be a downside to helping others and the ethical foundation to our professional practice needs greater attention.

Mentoring and Helping Others

Since 800 BC, when Odysseus appointed Mentor as an adviser and protector for his son Telemachus in Homer's *Odyssey*, mentoring has evolved to become an increasingly popular strategy for seeking professional and personal support and development. Over the years, the protective aspect of the role gave rise to the use of the word 'protege' from the French verb 'protéger' meaning to protect and the concept of protection and development of the protege makes up the core of what is now understood as mentoring (Carruthers, 1993). Subsequently, adaptations of the classical mentor-protege relationship have proliferated in order to satisfy particular needs.

Today, mentoring is generally considered a professional tutoring relationship between two colleagues. In this contemporary context, the more experienced supports and guides the less-experienced in order to facilitate career development (Burke, McKenna & McKeen, 1991) and to advance their knowledge, their trade and their personal and working lives (McKenzie, 1995). For minority and women faculty members and administrators, mentoring schemes have been particularly helpful. It is a complex, interactive process that is dependent upon personal connection and affiliation with another individual who can help navigate unfamiliar and sometimes inhospitable territory. Successful relationships, therefore, are characterised by mutuality and compatibility with the potential outcomes of respect, professionalism, collegiality and role fulfillment being implicit for both parties (Carmin, 1988). For many, the relationship can become very personal as both parties share their own ambitions, goals and achievements with one another.

Although mentoring often results from the participation in a formal program, informal mentoring liaisons may develop and flourish without the term 'mentor' ever being mentioned. In a similar way, service professionals such as staff developers and counselors, by the very nature of their work, play an informal mentoring role to many of their clients on a regular basis. As with formal programs, these less contrived associations become privy to personal confidences that need to be respected.

Ethics, Unethical Conduct and Mentoring

In turbulent environments with rapidly changing norms, such as we are currently experiencing, professionals are constantly faced with choices between essentially ethical and expedient behaviours. Uncertainty is high and expected standards of performance and behaviour can rapidly change. What is acceptable is often not clear. As Whicker & Kronenfeld (1994, p. 15-16) suggest

[r]easonable people may interpret the one same event differently, by codes of ethics that have evolved at dissimilar paces... Unreasonable people may refuse to adapt ethical codes to changed environmental conditions. Unethical people may use the opportunity of the greater confusion to obfuscate shady actions.

In the courts, unethical behaviour has been interpreted as that which offends contemporary moral standards and is generally condemned by the academic community (Beckham, 1986). To the judiciary, behaviours acknowledged as immoral and unethical include conviction of a crime, sexual misconduct, and dishonest and ribald or vulgar behaviour (Whicker & Kronenfeld, 1994). Since mentoring relationships involve the sharing of personal confidences, an understanding of ethical thinking and the nuances of differing ethical conduct that can manifest in such relationships is critical.

Derived from the Greek 'ethikos' and from ethos, the term ethics implies usage, character, custom, disposition and even manners. It is a discipline involving inquiry into the moral judgments people make and the rules and principles upon which such judgments are based (Snoeyenbos, Almeder & Humber, 1983). Often used synonymously with morality, some philosophers differentiate ethics as being a theoretical discipline concerning the study of good and bad, right and wrong while morality as being a study of conduct. In essence, ethics is concerned with the philosophical study of values and standards and deals with concepts such as ought, should, duty, obligation, responsibility, harm, right and wrong. These are issues that guide the mentoring process.

Within the field of philosophy, there are many branches and theories of applied ethics. Two theories in particular have relevance for mentoring that are worthy of note: the teleological framework that is based on the consequences of an action and the deontological framework that is based on the study of intention of an action. When first establishing a mentoring relationship, a discussion about these different branches can help clarify expectations and avoid future misunderstandings.

Teleological theory determines right from wrong or good from bad solely by the results or consequences. Depending on the line of philosophy one ascribes to, the question of "the consequences for whom?" can elicit quite divergent reasoning and has the potential for raising problems in the mentoring relationship. For one strand of philosophy, the ethical egoist, the focus of consequences is individual self interest with moral rules being irrelevant. For another strand, the utilitarian, the consequences are for all those affected by the action (Northcott, 1996). Applied to mentoring, if the mentee, for example, is focused on self interest while the mentor maintains a concern for all who might be affected, conflict likely will occur. Indeed, maximising utility may require harm to be done to the individual, which we intuitively recognise to be unethical.

In contrast, whilst acknowledging that consequences are important, deontological theories assert that there are more considerations than just outcomes. From the Greek 'deon' meaning duty, deontological theories suggest we should decide for each separate situation, what is the right or obligatory thing to do without examination of the consequences or reference to any ethical rules. Philosopher Immanuel Kant placed particular importance on the notions of good will, respect for individuals and our duty not to deceive. Again, applied to the mentoring relationship, conflict can occur if one colleague is operating from a consequences framework while the thinking of the other is shaped by personal feelings of obligation or a sense of duty. Maintaining the integrity of both the mentor and the mentee in these circumstances can be a challenge and requires constant, open communication.

The Downside to Mentoring - Et Tu Brute?

Given the ambiguity of ethical frameworks, the complexities of thought and the diversity of basic values among individuals, the potential risks in such a personal relationship as mentoring can be insidious and understated. The following example from McKenzie (1995, p. 124), compiled from an interview with a researcher in a science department, amounts to unethical mentor conduct: "My mentor had taken some of my research work and used it for himself, not giving me any credit. This happened on several occasions but I put up with it because I wasn't willing to confront him."

Even when a mentoring relationship has not been formalised, unethical behaviour can occur causing considerable distress to the individuals concerned and damage to the relationship as highlighted in the following excerpt of an interview by McKenzie (1995, p. 128) with a marketing support staff member of a public relations firm.

Geoff really valued my skills in desktop publishing. As the manager of a nearby section, I sought him out for advice on numerous occasions. Things became difficult when he submitted some of my design ideas without my permission. This became something of a habit and although he gave me credit, he was really depending upon me to supply him with ideas on a regular basis. I felt that I was being used and it was eating into my own work time."

Inherent in sound mentoring relationships are the notions of trust and respect. When mentors harbour their own hidden agenda that leads to the betrayal of the mentee, their conduct crosses the ethical boundary. Indeed, sabotaging a mentee's career by withholding support at a critical time, or applying cleverly chosen words in a reference that serves only to damage rather than support, cuts across the very purpose of a mentoring relationship. This duplicity of mentors in powerful positions, when faced with a conflict of interest, should not be underestimated as McKenzie (1995, p. 126-127) demonstrates in the following interview:

Donna knew her nursing career had stalled when she lost out on three administrative jobs she knew she was well qualified to do. Her mentor, Jean was Assistant Dean of the nursing school and had helped Donna plan her job interviews. In the past, Jean was proud of Donna's work on different projects and had received compliments about Donna. Jean was hoping Donna would decide to stay in her present position as she enjoyed the accolades she had received by helping Donna do well. Finally, after much prodding, the General Manager of Administration told Donna that while her interviews went well, her reference from Jean stated that she had some reservations about Donna's managerial skills and that she thought Donna might be better remaining in her present position for another 12-18 months. Donna was angry and confronted Jean about this.

The unethical use of power by a mentor to prevent the outstanding work of a protege from receiving just acclaim is another example. Clark and Corcoran (1986) relate the story of Salieri, the Court composer who acted as a musical gatekeeper and kept the genius of Mozart from being publicly recognised. For some mentees, being used by their mentor to fulfil some

deep-seated personal need to teach, assume a parental role or to indulge various altruistic yearnings, can clearly be a problem.

However, not all cases of unethical behaviour place the mentee as the innocent victim. For the mentor, the emotional commitment needed to shed protective psychic layers in discussing their own weaknesses and failures can be exhausting. Such revelations leave them vulnerable to mentees who may choose to use such information for their own ends which may ultimately cause grief for the mentor (Zey, 1991). For example, the privilege of access to inside information can give the mentee an edge over an unsuspecting mentor who may find themselves in competition for the same job.

Since mentoring relationships do not go on forever, occasionally and not surprisingly when the relationship ends, familiarity can turn to acrimony. Forged out of individual rather than mutual need, a less than amiable breakup of the relationship is perhaps inevitable. In a study of male mentors, Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson and McKee (1978) found that many mentoring relationships end badly, creating ill feelings and problems for both the mentor and the mentee. As the needs and expectations of both parties can change over time, it seems wise that the participants discuss measures to ensure that they do not part by anything less than mutual and amicable agreement.

For both parties, cross-gender matches are particular versions of mentoring that require some caution. Given the special friendship that is implicit in successful mentoring, the development into something more intimate in cross-sex relationships is a possibility. Whether such conduct is generally considered unethical, however, seems cause for some debate. Whilst genuine mentors more likely will insist on propriety and not take sexual advantage of their situation, McKenzie (1995) implied that intimacy in mentoring is not at issue but rather a concern for role confusion and uncertainty. Alternatively, Zey (1991) noted more a concern for the innuendo it creates, the involvement it causes and the potential generation of rivalry for the spouse. Furthermore, Mertz, Welch and Henderson (1988) raised concern more for the speculation that can develop about the protegee's motives than for any unethical conduct that might be implied. Despite these arguments, Levinson *et al.* (1978) drew a particular distinction. They identified as fraudulent, those mentors who offer a flawed type of mentoring in order to gain sexual favours. In this circumstance, the concept of premeditated intent surfaces to sit at odds with the ethical notions of goodwill and a duty not to deceive.

Apart from the sex-related considerations in cross-gender matches, ethical behaviour in the mentor-mentee relationship is essentially a gender free issue. However, with women having so very few female role models in senior positions in universities (McKenzie, 1995) and generally being attracted to mentoring as a career development strategy (Parker & Kram, 1993; Zey, 1991), they cannot afford to have their progress sabotaged by questionable ethical practices in a cross-sex arrangement. Strategies to ensure sound mentoring practice, particularly in these circumstances, need to be implemented.

Setting Standards for Ethical Behaviour

Rarely do university policies cover all possible ethical questions that may arise. At best, policies are established to cover general issues and procedures are subsequently developed in

response to specific situations, much like case law is developed (Whicker & Kronenfeld, 1994). In mentoring relationships, where there are personal risks for the participants, it is critical that expected norms of behaviour are defined as a set of guidelines or code of conduct. An example of guidelines, developed in small groups during a workshop on mentoring at the 5th International Women in Leadership Conference (1996) in Perth, is provided in Table 1.

Table 1:

Draft code of conduct for mentoring in higher education - conduct for both mentors and mentees:

Before

- Be strategic - recognise the risks and the pitfalls from the outset
- Consider engaging a facilitator for initial discussions to ensure objectivity

At the outset

- Discuss the code of ethics at the mentoring induction
- Discuss a definition of mentoring
- Discuss the mentor and mentee roles - what will and won't be provided
- Discuss outcomes and expectations about the process
- Discuss values as they differ - between genders and across cultures
- Declare motives and discuss any conflict of interest that may exist
- Check personal assumptions about the mentoring process
- Establish trust
- Agree on who is going to know about the relationship
- Agree to keep discussions professionally focussed and not to divulge personal information if it cannot be made public
- Develop a confidentiality contract
- Agree on open communication at all times
- Build in flexibility in the relationship parameters
- Agree on a timeline and discuss availability
- Establish a balance of reliance
- Discuss plagiarism, if appropriate
- Agree that it is okay to change mentor/mentee if it is not right for both parties
- Agree on a process for withdrawing from the relationship with dignity
- Collaboratively review the process at regular points

Throughout

- Maintain roles and a professional focus
- Maintain confidentiality of both verbal and non verbal communications
- Maintain respect
- Maintain objectivity and independence
- Provide honest feedback

At the conclusion

- Review the outcomes for both parties
- Review the process by re-examining the code of ethics
- Thank one another for their participation

Conduct for mentors

- Be comfortable with the role and not threatened by the advancement of your mentee
- Acknowledge the power relationship

- Maintain empathy

Conduct for mentees

- Recognise the spirit of generosity required of your mentor
- Avoid over reliance on your mentor for resolving your own issues
- Don't abuse your mentor's position
- Avoid overuse of your mentor
- Respect the time demands on your mentor
- Recognise the need to let go of your mentor

The problem of setting ethical codes of behaviour in a university and then ensuring that staff abide by them, is challenging. The very collegial nature of the environment necessitates drawing heavily upon peer-regulated approaches. As a result, consultation and the establishment of consensus that is inherent in decision making by peers, is time consuming and often frustrating. Added to these difficulties, academic staff enjoy a great deal of autonomy which contributes to variations within institutions between what is expected, what is condoned and the resulting range of sanctions. Despite the observance by academics of ethical standards in research, characteristically, there is often resistance to any impositions to the way they otherwise might work or behave. At times, the efforts of a peer regulated process to develop a professional code of conduct for university activities can be blatantly violated by certain individuals. Nevertheless, there appears no current better solution to the management of potentially unethical behaviour. In the final analysis, ethical violations can and do occur and safeguards to minimise the level of incidence and the subsequent degree of impact, need to be instituted. To assist in the implementation of a mentoring code of conduct, draft guidelines, similarly developed in small groups during a workshop on mentoring at the 5th International Women in Leadership Conference (1996) in Perth, are provided in Table 2.

Table 2: Strategies for implementing a mentoring code of conduct

- Develop your own code of ethics for your department
- Provide a documented framework
- Develop documentation on the differences between mentoring and counseling with established parameters
- Build in a requirement to discuss expectations
- Provide a Program Coordinator and/or Reference Committee for the referral of any difficulties
- Provide training on practices, expectations, relationships and proceeding beyond mentoring
- Examine what is working and what isn't as the relationship develops
- Require a report from both parties
- Review the process and outcomes of all mentoring relationships

Conclusion

Staff attracted to mentoring relationships, especially those established under the umbrella of a formalised program, probably are more receptive to respecting an established code of conduct. The very nature of helping colleagues, even in informal relationships, suggests an intrinsic respect for others. Whilst we generally expect an adherence to ethical kinds of behaviour, the unexpected can occur, and sometimes with disastrous repercussions. As the difficulties multiply from the turbulent change that is currently being experienced in higher education, the competition and struggle for survival will similarly gain momentum. "Conduct unbecoming" is bound to surface.

Professionals, especially those successful women who have cracked the glass ceiling, need to safeguard the efficacy of our mentoring programs. We need to ensure that relationships are founded on nothing less than clear ethical standards so that the outcomes are positive, reciprocal and enhance each individual's career development within a mutually beneficial relationship.

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WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP – A PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

The writer of this paper believes that ethics goes hand in hand with leadership, whether that be in the area of parenting, academia or the catholic church. First hand experience in these three spheres suggests a new model for leadership, one based on partnership rather than competition, on equality rather than authority. It therefore puts forward a collaborative form of leadership in personal/family relationships, in professional areas and in the community. It specifically addresses the role of women in the family, women part time academics and women in the catholic church in the nineties. Women can and do offer a different approach to leadership. A shared wisdom model emerges from this paper.

Key Words: partnership, family, academia, Catholic church

Women In Leadership – A Personal Perspective

Partner, mother, teacher, architectural historian, wife, educator, researcher, daughter, gardener, organiser, cook, mentor, cleaner, writer, psychologist, chair parish team, sister, critic, craftsperson, artist, entertainer extraordinaire, photographer ... superwoman? No. Just woman in the nineties. Somewhere in there is 'just me' generally at odds with the nineties, loyal to my family, my community and to my profession.

Ethics, as in moral principles, especially as concerning human conduct (Oxford Reference Dictionary), go hand in hand with good leadership. Bringing up three daughters to be independent women who know and value themselves as human beings, who can dare to dream, who can accept challenges and go forward in diverse fields in pursuit of excellence, yet caring for others, demands ethics and leadership – though no-one has ever called mothering that. In hindsight, I can say that nurturing in partnership is an acquired skill demanding cooperation and collaboration. A willingness to forgive and forget, to accept mistakes, to acknowledge differences, to laugh a lot and a whole lot more, to listen to each other, to share life experiences, to bite your tongue, to let off steam, to play games and laugh some more.

My parents gifted me with a fine education. I attended a school where I had the freedom to be myself, more or less, and was chosen to take on the leadership of the college in my final year. In the seventies, in my new roles as wife, mother and teacher my sense of leadership floundered in the midst of the struggle of coming to terms with a 'new' self. In the nineties new challenges present themselves in two areas: leadership in a part time academic position, and the role of lay persons, and women in particular, in leadership in the Catholic Church. I would like to explore these areas in this paper.

No area in my life can claim to have a discrete existence. The strands are inextricably interwoven, making for a frustratingly complex yet extraordinarily rich whole. Three things prompted me to put my thoughts to paper: a flier from the Equity & Equal Opportunity Unit at Deakin University with a call for papers for the Women in Leadership Conference; three mothers' day letter-cards from my daughters, and the encouragement I received from the Women in Leadership organisers. I have always worked and acted fairly independently, and certainly on the periphery or outside any official feminist or women's groups, so the support was most welcome.

I grew up with chooks, my very own strawberry patch, and time to day-dream in the huge walnut tree Dad had planted in our front lawn. It was Dad who allowed me to share his love of growing things, and I can still picture the orchard, and the blackberry patch in the wildest corner of the enormous backyard. Dad was head of the household, but Mum managed everything wonderfully, Mum was always there! My multi cultural community was filled with friendships, stories, playtime, a younger sister and a baby brother, shared family experiences, various schools, and the Argonauts Club. I did have a wonderful innocent childhood growing up in the paddocks of Oak Park (what a misnomer!) on the basalt plains to the west of Melbourne – totally oblivious to the struggles of my immigrant parents. An enforced move to the eastern suburbs shattered this idyllic world. Dad's firm moved so we moved. New schools, new parish, new neighbours. Over these teenage years I painted, I wrote, I fell in love, I enjoyed my new college life (discovering nuns who were human, who laughed and enjoyed life) made many friends – I grew up happily naive. My sister was the rebel. I was actively involved in the church youth group and took on the leadership of my college in my final year, and became Golden Fleece and Bar Edessa 17! I was accepted at Monash University to do a Bachelor of Arts degree on an Education Department Studentship. I'd always wanted to be a teacher. My sister chose nursing as her profession and moved out to live in the nurses' quarters at the Royal Children's Hospital. On the Newman Fresher Camp I met my future husband, Eddy, a third year physics student. Things snowballed from there. I enjoyed my University studies, but was frustrated that few shared my ideal of a place for free exploration and exchange of ideas, and that lecturers seemed threatened when students actually took up challenges presented in lectures and offered unorthodox solutions. In third year I found myself pregnant, Eddy and I were married, and our eldest daughter Tanya was born in February 1973, just a week before my Graduate Diploma in Education Studies commenced. I attended only what was absolutely required that year, Mum looking after Tanya while I was at University. Eddy commenced teaching at Whitefriars College. We bought our home in Clarinda. In 1974 I had to teach full time to honour my obligations under the studentship scheme. Even though we were happy and had the support of our extended family, with so many outside pressures, we struggled to make marriage really work, and to grow as a family. In the hurly and burly of life feminism simply did not exist! In 1975 I was able to teach part time, and Eddy and I decided to have another baby. I took maternity leave, and Jacinta was born in May 1976. At the end of that year I resigned from the Department, losing all my accrued leave, superannuation and benefits. I was now simply wife and home maker, with two beautiful little girls – what I didn't realise was that I now had no status in our wider community. I was just Eddy's wife or spouse, or my children's parent. It didn't matter how well you did this unpaid, unseen work – in a materialistic world it didn't count. I was in an unusual situation having had our children so young, our friends married later than we did and had children later than we did, and were still out in the workforce. Because I was so young I did not have the confidence and assurance that comes with a little more life experience and maturity. I was isolated.

Two things happened in the later seventies: Patrick McCaughey was appointed Professor of a new Department of Visual Arts at Monash University, and I slowly discovered St Peter's Parish East Bentleigh. I studied, or should I say devoured with relish, every unit offered by the Visual Arts Department, eventually getting an Honours Degree, then a Commonwealth Post Grad Research award to pursue a PhD. It was then we decided to have another baby – and Lisa was born in July 1981. I took on community work: becoming the secretary of the local primary school council, encouraging other parents to get involved; enjoyed reading mornings with the children at school; and fruit and milk duty at the kindergarten. Somehow with Eddy's extraordinary belief in me, and grandparents willingness to spoil their grand daughters rather often, I managed to read volumes and explore archives. With Eddy's wage sustaining the household, we saved most of my scholarship, so I could study for a month in England – Eddy took long service leave, and at long last we spent the first real extended time together since we were married, admittedly looking for and at medieval and nineteenth century churches throughout England. Nevertheless it was a real honeymoon! The best time to write was at night when the girls were asleep, so during school holidays and weekends you'd find Eddy furiously typing what I had hand written, to produce a mammoth four volume opus on the nineteenth century architect William Wardell.

In 1989 I applied for and accepted a position of Lecturer in Art and Architectural History in the School of Architecture and Building at Deakin University, eventually receiving tenure on a 0.5 appointment. I took on the coordination of the Liturgy and Environment Group at St Peter's, and through school and parish became involved in adult education in the sacramental program. For three years I have been a member of the Faith & Life Development Group, the parish leadership team, taking on the role of chair this year.

Leadership is a complex multi faceted concept. The Oxford Reference Dictionary provides a few definitions: 'to cause to go with one, to guide or to help to go, especially by going in front or taking a person's hand; ... to influence the actions or opinions of; ... to guide by persuasion, example or argument; ... to be in charge of, to be pre-eminent in some field.' It seems that every area of my life has involved some aspect of leadership. And while we generally recognise Prime Ministers, Managers of Multi-Nationals, Vice Chancellors, and School Principals as leaders or in leadership positions, we do not acknowledge parents, teachers and community members as such. Leadership, surely, does not have to be a public role.

In May 1996 I received Mothers' Day letter-cards from each of my daughters. Tanya really made me acknowledge the incredible role mothers/parents play in the shaping of the lives of their children, and the fundamental importance of 'ethics', or as Paul Pearsall writes,

The family is our brain baker, the place for a leavening of our spirit, and the creator of how we will see our world, how we will interpret it, and what we will choose to do about it (Pearsall, 1990, p. 27-28).

I quote with Tanya's permission

In a world which shows us not to care, thank you Mum for teaching us to care – to nurture our own gifts and to care for others.

In a world which questions God, thanks Mum for showing us the way to the Father and encouraging us to explore our own faith/beliefs.

In a world where family is not seen to be important, thank you for living with us the richness of family life.

Thank you for taking such good care of us all – the many things we take for granted as well as those we notice – like your delicious meals!

Thank you for loving each of us enough to say NO when it was needed.

Thank you Mum for being my Mum.

I can only say 'Thank you, Tanya', for affirming me in the decisions Eddy and I have made over the past twenty-four years. For while mothers have done most of the child rearing in our human world, this mother would not have survived without the support of her partner and friend, without teamwork. 1994 was designated the Year of the Family. The Australian Bishops' Statement on Family Life, called simply *Families, our Hidden Treasure*, provided one opportunity to recognise and value family as family. It provided one brief moment in time to focus on 'familying', that is 'parents and children sharing development together and raising each other', in a world of changing – declining? – values (Pearsall, 1990; p. 27-28).

The National Council for the International Year of the Family writing on the 'The Fundamental Value of Equality Between Men and Women' in 1994, stated that

[t]he rights of men and women to be treated equally in family life, employment and public life derive from the inherent dignity and equal worth of the human person. Equality between men and women is a fundamental Australian value. Ideally, partners in a relationship, in a marriage and in a family are expected to be equal in responsibilities and rights, sharing equally in the benefits and duties of the relationship, with their contributions regarded as of equal worth. The law is expected to respect the principle of equality between partners, during a relationship and if it ends. However in reality the full range of public policies which might create the conditions for the ideal of gender equality to be realised, are not in place. (The National Council for the International Year of the Family, 1994, p. 25-26).

Eddy and I made our relationship and our family a priority; with joy we note that our relationship has matured and strengthened, and grown in love, as we enthusiastically lurched along, stumbled, embraced new life with open arms, stepped forward, and with dogged persistence, kept going. The girls have kept us sane and young and smiling. Families need to think imaginatively and creatively so that they can develop a changing vision that responds to rapidly changing situations, for families never stay the same. When we returned from an extended overseas trip we had to acknowledge the pressure that time can place on relationships. With increasing commitments by family members to work outside the home, time to be with one another to affirm the family's function of nurturing and care, or simply to be together, is not always easy to attain. In a household of five adults it is becoming harder and harder.

Upon reflection, 'familying' has made me realise that leadership is not a one way street. It is not simply a matter of 'I go, therefore you must follow'; 'I am right, therefore you must do as I say'; 'I am further up the professional ladder therefore, you will be subservient'. It suggests a different way of approaching things.

What type of leadership can women promote? Not one of just taking over corporate, managerial, adversarial, competitive, parliamentary style leadership. Nor should we wear ourselves out trying to outdo men at their own games, trying to prove we are as good or better than. To me this is not a viable model for leadership. We can surely begin to define leadership out of our own experiences, from a position of compassion, tolerance and understanding. To find within ourselves the ability to listen, support, encourage and affirm others. These qualities are not signs of weakness, but of real strength. There is a different way forward: Mary Benet McKinney, O. S. B., calls it a shared wisdom model (McKinney, 1987). It is a wholeness of person approach. Collaboration, partnership, affirmation, encouragement, respect for differing points of view, are the hallmarks of this model. It takes a little longer to do things, but ultimately the outcome is more beneficial. There are no winners or losers; there is recognition of gifts; tolerance replaces aggressive behaviour. There is recognition that everyday pressures, constant demands, and never ending busyness lead to an unacceptable stress level which ultimately irreparably damages human beings. The challenge to us all is to take leisure time regularly, to take time out to renew ourselves. Real freedom comes from choice, which comes from not having to prove anything, and recognising the gift of being oneself.

How does such a way of thinking about leadership impact on my professional role as part-time academic? It makes life difficult! To begin with there is a need to recognise the overarching well-established bureaucracy which governs University organisation. The only place I have real autonomy is in my seminars, and in my research when time permits. Again in such a huge institution leadership occurs at many levels. While I have written and delivered courses to both on and off campus students, and contributed to School and Faculty Committees, I find it difficult to contribute meaningfully to, for example, the overall structure of the courses offered to our students. Each academic seems reluctant to throw all the cards on the table, to take part in an open dialogue about the real benefits and weaknesses of their particular units, in order to facilitate greater integration, or introduce new material. Few genuinely want to look at the broader picture for the benefit of the students. Perhaps unwittingly the University encourages such an insular approach – by inviting scrutiny we make ourselves vulnerable. In this economically rationalised climate should we be defensive? The latest wave of changes mean yet another decrease in teaching possibilities – an increase in student to staff ratios means finding innovative ways to survive: one to one relationships are eroded further; field trips become extra curricular activities. Part timers have particular problems: we often work many unpaid hours, though I am mindful that academics have no written down hours, and I have refused offers of full time work because I cannot put in eighty hours per week! Parents in employment do not cease their caring work in the household and community, they combine both responsibilities. This quandary still affects women more than men, and in my case I am still the primary carer. To be in full employment I would need a wife. While I greatly value being part of the decision making process, I have been reluctant to put myself forward for more committees – time is so precious. Each hour I spend at another meeting, means an hour less on course development, teaching, marking, research and writing (and eventually no time for family, relationships, community). All academics face these problems, but a part-timer not only has to do the work, but be seen to be doing it. If I am honest I have to say that I find the students a wonderful challenge and far more rewarding than any committee meetings, however well organised they may be.

Being nominated for Academic and Faculty Boards simply because one is a woman is demeaning. It presumes women can not do it. Gender should not be the only criterion on which one is chosen. I realise that this situation also presents an opportunity – if I do well maybe another woman will get the position on merit, rather than gender, in the future.

In 1994 the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Western Australia, Professor Fay Gale, argued that 'Women are the future in academic leaders!' To redress the current imbalance of female representation in upper managerial positions in universities, Gale stated that: 'women need to understand the male culture and work within it' (Gale, 1994). I have already suggested that women offer different ways of thinking and operating, problem solving and conflict resolution to those familiar to us in the upper echelons of the workforce. Women do need to understand male culture, but men need to become familiar with and acknowledge female culture. As Nicole Kessissoglou argues,

Failure to do so will only allow the imbalance in upper managerial positions to continue. This would result in a loss of valuable human resources and belie our knowledge that the greatest success comes from a diversity of ideas, methods and problem solving (Kessissoglou, 1995).

McKinney suggests another way of stating this, 'a parliamentary model tends to be: analytical, selective, competitive and controlling'; whereas 'a shared wisdom model tends to be: synthesising, holistic, collaborative and enabling' (McKinney, 1987, p. 29). I have yet to find pathways for my voice to be clearly heard.

One by one
we are coming to awareness
One by one
we're committed to a cause
One by one
we're challenging the structures
One by one
we're changing the laws

Side by side
we're bound to make a difference
Side by side
that's how the Spirit thrives
Side by side
we're achieving some concessions
Side by side
we're changing our lives

With these beautiful words of Miriam Therese Winter, Catholic Women were called to claim their voices at the Annunciation Gathering in the Fitzroy Gardens, Melbourne, 1995. On the 25 March the church keeps the Feast of the Annunciation, honouring Mary. On this day, Catholic women around the world gather to celebrate women as women, theologians, mystics, ministers, priests, bishops, mothers, sisters, friends, teachers; to protest the official church's silencing and stereotyping of women and to mourn the gifts of women lost to the church throughout the world.

The position of women in the Catholic church is not easily addressed in a few words. But it is an issue close to my heart. I/we live, serve and worship in hierarchical patriarchal church. The clearly articulated papal position on women's ordination and the inauguration of Archbishop Pell in the Melbourne Archdiocese in August 1996 has caused renewed concern for many in the church. Can I reiterate the position of Women Religious Theological Forum, which responded to the issue of women's priesthood, not because it is the most crucial of women's issues, but because the Catholic Church's adamant patriarchal position excludes women from any leadership or decision making role within the church community. Hence the real issue is not just a question of the admission of women to ministerial priesthood, but one of our fundamental rights as baptised persons, and therefore equal membership in the Church, which is at stake.¹ It is perhaps not unexpected that striking parallels exist between the Church and the University: they come from the same background, the same tradition of exclusion of women. Nelson and Walter (1998) point out that

[o]pponents of higher education for women appealed to biblical authority, social custom and economics to hold back the changes they feared. Women wishing to enter Melbourne University in the 1870s were told that they had smaller brains that were comparatively undeveloped in those areas governing rationality.

An American anti-suffragist argued in 1896 that

A woman's brain evolves emotion rather than intellect; and whilst this feature fits her admirably as a creature burdened with the preservation and happiness of the human species, it painfully disqualifies her for the sterner duties to be performed by the intellectual faculties. The best wife and mother and sister would make the worst legislator, judge... police and minister. (Kraditor quoted in Nelson and Walter, 1989, p. 4).

Thirty years ago Vatican II called us to see church as the responsibility of all the baptised. In 1996 Catholics are still struggling with the implications of this call to participation. Vatican II called us to a church that was to be a community – a living, breathing struggling people of God with evolving goals. People were to be about caring, worshipping, ministering and journeying together. In an open forum, called 'listening time', which I chaired in my own parish of St Peter's East Bentleigh, in October 1996, it became clear that there is still some considerable misunderstanding of leadership roles taken on by lay people, particularly women, and between conservative and progressive directions in our Church today. Some participants asked for more explanations about changes in our church, and about new liturgical directions. Others wanted tolerance expressed for the different stages that people were at. Still others sought understanding of their gifts and opportunities and encouragement to use them.

In 1985 a Melbourne Diocesan Consultation Report stated that

women comprise a majority in the Church yet have little involvement in the decision making and the responsibility in the Church. The current status of women is an injustice – a distortion of the Gospel message of discipleship of equals. Women are an untapped resource in the Church and should be given the encouragement to participate at all levels (Dyt, 1986).

My experience has been largely at a community level, in a parish where over the years women have become valued and highly regarded for their various ministries. For example, women are valued for their gifts of affirming, healing, blessing and listening in grief and loss, and funeral ministry, RCIA, sacramental programs, liturgy formation and organisation. This is only possible in communities/parishes where the priest or pastor has seen his own leadership as an enabling ministry, one which recognises and promotes the dignity and responsibility of all persons in the church, leaving them freedom and scope for acting, and encouraging them to undertake works on their own initiative (McKinney, 1987, p. 57). It has been my good fortune to know and work with a number of such priests, pastoral associates and women who have been instrumental in nurturing my own faith, in inviting me in and affirming me in taking on leadership roles. Just as families need to think imaginatively and creatively so that they can develop a changing vision to respond to changing situations, so too do communities and the Catholic church. Yet I must acknowledge that even with unbelievable amounts of skill, talent, goodwill, determination and prayer, shared decision making in the Catholic church has not worked that well. Vatican II opened the door. It seems to me that it has only ever been partially opened, and that it continues to be in danger of swinging shut at the slightest breeze!

Yet while many women have become more aware of their role in the Church/community in the last decade, it is still only a minority of women who actively struggle to identify their role and gain acceptance. Clare Avalon O'Callaghan's observation is symptomatic of the insidious opposition faced by women.

Many women [who] are pursuing theology degrees and short courses in spirituality and social justice. [I]t is a private enquiry and while the official church acknowledges this activity, it is still unsure about utilising it. The church does not seek to be informed by our collective wisdom and is not attentive to our needs (1995, p. 1-7).

As I write, the Australian Catholic Bishops' Conference has commissioned a research project on the participation of women in the Catholic church in Australia.

The research will gather information about the ways in which women currently participate in the Church and how their participation can be increased. It will help Church bodies to reflect on and promote the Gospel vision of the equal dignity of women and men, to discuss the issues in a constructive way, and to plan for the future (A National Research Project of the Australian Catholic Bishops' Conference undertaken by the Bishops' Committee for Justice, Development and Peace, the Australian Catholic University and the Australian Conference of Leaders of Religious Institutes).

It is hoped that the information will provide a solid basis for theological reflection, pastoral planning and dialogue with women and women's groups on particular issues. What matters is that women gain a sense of clarity about what constitutes leadership, that quality that promotes an internal focus of control and personal esteem, and that we commit ourselves to continuing to become leaders, even if we must do it one step at a time (Redenbach, 1996).

From my own experiences – personal, family, professional and community – a redefinition of leadership emerges. I believe that ethics cannot be separated from leadership which values relational aspects; which sees leadership as a partnership and as a sharing of gifts; and which encompasses a concept of co-leadership, in which building confidence in one another is to the fore. Leadership must be enabling, empowering, affirming; it must be caring and nurturing, positive and forward looking.

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